TRADE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CAMPBELTOWN

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.E.O.	Argyll Estate Office
C.D.	Customs Debentures
CCLB	Campbeltown Customs Letter Books
E.H.R.	Economic History Review
L.B.R.	Lowland Baptismal Register
N.L.S.	National Library of Scotland
N.S.A.	New Statistical Account
O.S.A.	Old Statistical Account
Q.A.	Quarterly Accounts
S.C.	Saltoun Collection
S.H.R.	Scottish Historical Review
S.H.S.	Scottish History Society
S.R.S.	Scottish Record Society
S.R.O.	Scottish Record Office
TCM	Town Council Minutes

THESIS ABSTRACT

The intention of this local history study is to provide another piece to the picture of Scotland's development in the eighteenth century. Although culturally Highland, Campbeltown had advantages which involved it in the economic development of the west of Scotland: its status as a Royal Burgh from 1700 with related trading privileges; the encouragement from the more forward-looking of the chamberlains of Kintyre; and its appointment as a rendezvous for the herring buss fishing.

Minutes of the Town Council show the country tenants becoming increasingly dependent upon the capital of the merchants and maltmen of Campbeltown in the first half of the century. A group of maltmen were dominating the trade and economy which was based on obtaining malt and grain from the country tenants. By the middle decades of the century, merchants were looking increasingly to the harbour for their livelihoods. Trade to continental ports, particularly Norway, Sweden, Spain and Portugal, was well within the range of Campbeltown men by the 1740's according to the Customs Quarterly Accounts and Letter Books. The proximity of Ireland made it attractive to Campbeltown sailors before records began, but the diversity of trade to Irish ports in the eighteenth century was dominating the economy with herring, salt, oatmeal, and timber only the most important of the articles exchanged. The drawback trade, in some ways an artificial exchange, stimulated Campbeltown's economy in the 1760's particularly.

Coal-mining and salt-manufacturing were initially the efforts of local men. Neither industry was marked by great success, but

both provided evidence of the local merchants' economic enthusiasm by mid-century. Other efforts, such as the linen manufacturing, had but a short life-span. The importance of the herring fishing cannot be over-emphasised in Campbeltown. After the issue of the government bounties in 1750, most Campbeltown merchants had at least one share in a buss, whatever other interests they might have had.

The days of Campbeltown's economic importance in the west were numbered, largely dependent upon the legislation that created it a rendezvous point for the herring buss fishing and the legislation that created the drawback traffic which gave Campbeltown an importance with the Irish trading companies. The American War of Independence also signalled an end to the days of easy prosperity for Campbeltown.

Town merchants had no cause to regret their participation in any of these economic efforts, however limited or short-lived they might have been. Each in its own way created capital and economic interest, helped to swell the town's population, and provided the tenants with a growing market for their produce. The prosperity of Campbeltown in the nineteenth century with its numerous distilleries grew out of the spirit of activity of the eighteenth-century merchants.

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INTRODUCTION:

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND

Campbeltown is located on the forty-mile long peninsula of Kintyre, sometimes labelled as the southern-most point in the Highlands. It is bounded on the west by the open Atlantic and separated from Ireland at the Mull of Kintyre by only eleven miles. The first colonisers almost certainly came from Ireland. At the beginning of the Christian era, a people from Ireland introduced their form of Gaelic. On the east the Firth of Clyde separates Kintyre from the Ayrshire mainland. Although many parallels can be drawn between the type of land and climate in Ayrshire and Kintyre, the barrier of the Firth made their histories very different with Kintyre being one of the lawless extremities of Scotland. On the north the mile-and-a-half strip of land at Tarbert between East and West Lochs is all that joins Kintyre and the mainland.[1]

For a while during Norse rule Kintyre was, in fact, classed with the Western Isles. In 1098 when the King of Norway, Magnus Barefoot, invaded the West Highlands, legend has it that he sailed around the Mull of Kintyre and had his small ship dragged over the isthmus of Tarbert; thus, he created his most valuable western "isle" in Scotland. The Norsemen remained in Kintyre until early in the twelfth century when Somerled drove them out. His independent

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[1] See map in appendix 1.

kingdom became an important force in the west of Scotland. Not until the thirteenth century were descendants of Somerled forced to acknowledge the superiority of the Scottish king over the Kintyre lands. For most of the fourteenth century, the self-styled Lords of the Isles ruled the peninsula. After John IV, Lord of the Isles, forfeited his lands to the Crown in 1493, King James IV visited the Highlands himself and in 1498, he had a castle built at Kilkerran at the edge of present-day Campbeltown. In 1540 the Kintyre lands became Crown lands.[2]

McKerral takes up the story of Kintyre in the seventeenth century in a detailed account. In a study of a region in which the sources are few for a specified time, it is gratifying when someone has done the spadework. Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century is an invaluable aid in setting the stage for eighteenth-century developments in Campbeltown. Although his book is primarily a chronological study of Kintyre's seventeenth-century political history, his emphasis on the Lowland plantation in the peninsula is of particular importance to an eighteenth-century study for that settlement had long-reaching social and economic effects. His perspective for the seventeenth century is considerably different, however, than this one for the eighteenth.

In the first place, he was dealing with the repercussions which Kintyre's unsettled condition was causing in the politics of the nation at that time. For much of the century the goings-on in the Western Isles were of considerable importance to the Crown

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[2] A. McKerral, Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century, Edinburgh (1948), 1-13. McKerral's introduction to his book gives a brief but informative account of Kintyre's early history.

anxious to establish its say in these remote lands and to undermine the authority of the clan chiefs. In much of the political intrigue, the House of Argyll was deeply involved. Early in the century, the threats of the MacDonalds, whether in the Antrim or the Isles form, struck both at the Crown and at the Earl of Argyll, James VI's mainstay in western Scotland. James VI and the Earl of Argyll, Archibald VII, united against a common enemy. Later, in 1647, when General Leslie struck a blow for the Covenanters, it was to Kintyre he turned for a final march. Towards the end of the century when the Earl of Argyll made an attempt to overthrow the government of James VII in 1685, he too turned to Kintyre hoping on this occasion to rekindle some of the old animosity against the Crown and to gain a following. Throughout the seventeenth century, Kintyre was very much in the centre of Scotland's political history.

McKerral's approach is also different in that he views Kintyre as a whole in the seventeenth century; whereas, in the eighteenth century the events of the town overshadow the happenings in the countryside. The burgh of barony was not sufficiently influential to effect the countryside to any great extent. Lochhead, or Ceann Loch Kilkerran, was of strategic, rather than social or economic importance for most of the seventeenth century. Its location was chosen for reasons of defence and the few buildings that did exist huddled around the castle for protection. Latterly in the century a fort guarded the mouth of the loch.

Campbeltown was "planted" in the spirit of the times. In 1597, King James VI conceived the idea of establishing three burghs "for the better entertaining and continuing of policy with the Highlands and Isles."[3] Neither Stornoway nor "Fort William" attained the status in Lewis and Lochaber that James VI had envisaged, but Lochhead or Campbeltown by the eighteenth century did have a stabilising and economically beneficial influence on the peninsula. It is the intention here in relying upon McKerral's study to concentrate upon the social and economic aspects of the Lowland plantation in the seventeenth-century burgh of barony. There were four fairly distinct stages in the town's history in this period of establishment, the first two marked by their lack of success.

The first period from 1606 to 1618 was one characterised by fortification rather than development. In 1609, the Exchequer passed an act relieving the Earl of feu duties on his Kintyre lands if within five years he would "plant a burgh to be inhabited by Lowland men and trafficking burgesses within the bounds of Kintyre."[4] He in return granted a charter to John Boyll of Ballochmartin in the Greater Cumbrae, charging him with the building of the burgh. Their efforts were hampered by Sir James MacDonald, last of the male line of the family in Kintyre, who escaped from prison in Edinburgh in 1615 and captured the King's castle at Kinloch. This is probably a reference to the fortification on Castlehill built sometime

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[3] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, iv, 139.

[4] Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep., iv, 475.

between 1606 and 1615 by the Earl.[5]

The castle appears to have constituted "the town" in the early days. The first description of Campbeltown, attributed to the cartographer Timothy Pont, probably describes Lochhead sometime between 1609 and 1617:

> Upon the Southsyde of the Logh there is a church which is called Kilkearrane and ane an cient castle which K. James the fourth builded. At the end of the Logh there is a certain village and a new castle which the Earl of Argyll builded laitlie,[6]

From the description it appears that very little building occurred in the early years of the century. The Earl was not able to build his burgh in twenty-five years, much less the five that Parliament allowed him. Animosity of the MacDonalds adversely affected the growth of the burgh and a strong group of colonisers was necessary to make a mark in this hostile land.

The first actual colonisation or plantation of Lowland settlers does not appear to have begun until sometime after 1618 when the Earl of Argyll received the instruments of sasine and four Lowlanders witnessed the ceremony.[7] Unfortunately, despite the effort shown in this second period of settlement, from about 1618 to 1636, it was a period of confusion. In 1619, the Earl was denounced as a rebel and he fled to Spain. Although he later

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[5] A. McKerral, Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century (1948), 26.

[6] A. Mitchell (ed.), MacFarlane's Geographical Collections (3 vols.), S.H.S., ii, 186.

[7] Particular Register of Sasines, Argyll, first series, i, f. 53.

Made his peace with the King, he did not return to Scotland. With the exception of Kintyre, his great estates passed to Lord Lorne. Another son, James, Lord Kintyre took control of the Kintyre lands in 1626 and came to reside at Lochhead. He used the lands as a pawn in his dealings with the MacDonalds of Antrim and the intrigue continued. In 1636, however, he resigned them to the Crown and they were then bestowed upon Lord Lorne who became the first and only Marquis of Argyll.[8]

A rental prepared when Lord Lorne took over the estate in 1636 reveals the names of thirty householders in Lochhead. The following Lowland names are included: Allan, Anderson, Burnes, Cunningham, Harvey, Kelburne, Kincaid, Omey, Stewart, Stirling, and Weir.[9] The Lowlanders were brought to Kintyre most likely sometime between 1618 and 1636. By the latter date thirteen people had leases for sixteen town houses. The average rent was £6-13-4 and the total rent for the town was £204-13-4.[10] The tenants jointly rented Crosshill farm for grazing. A tolbooth had been built. A school was started in 1622.[11]

Unfortunately, political confusion adversely affected this first settlement when Kintyre was proposed as a reward for allegiance to the Earl of Antrim by King Charles. To defend the town the Marquis constructed a large fort at Askamylemoir,

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[8] A. McKerral, Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century (1948), 33-37.

[9] Accounts of the Regality of Argyll, 1636, RH 11/6/2, S.R.O. Copy in the Free Library of Campbeltown.

[10] Ibid.

[11] General Register of Sasines, Argyll, first series, xi, f. 42.

now known as Fort Argyll or Trench Point.[12] The 1640's were turbulent years because of the threat always posed by the Earl of Antrim. Coll MacGillespec Vic Coll MacDonald nicknamed "Coll Ciatach", the left-handed, was the leader of the Colonsay MacDonalds descended from MacDonalds of Dunnyveg. Along with the Antrim MacDonalds, his son Alastair reeked havoc on the countryside under pretence of allegiance to Montrose, in a series of attacks which have become known as the Colkitto raids. In actuality the civil strife of the time provided the MacDonalds with an excuse to strike at their enemy in Argyll and the Campbells were too newly established in Kintyre to put an immediate end to raiding.[13]

This turbulent time did not entice Lowland settlement. It is impossible to say how many of the original Lowland settlers fled in the troubles, but in 1646 the peninsula was reported to be a smoking ruin and no rents were collected from Kintyre or Islay in that year.[14] Certainly by the time General Leslie's covenanting army arrived in 1647 to put an end to the raiding by MacDonald adherents, little was left in the peninsula. The General reported that he could not get enough food to maintain his troops.[15] No report was made on conditions at Lochhead, although presumably it suffered the same destruction as the countryside with General Leslie making headquarters in the House of Lochhead.[16]

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[12] D. Mactavish (ed.), Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, (2 vols), S.H.S., i, 6.

[13] A. McKerral, Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century (1948), 42-48.

[14] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vi, Pt. i, 498.

[15] Ibid.

[16] A. McKerral, Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century (1948), 55.

The next stage of settlement, after General Leslie's march through the peninsula, showed the increasing determination of the Marquis of Argyll to entrench the House of Argyll in Kintyre by bringing adherents he could rely upon politically and militarily in troubled times and economically in peaceful days as sound tenants. This effort was the one that seemed to establish the Lowlanders in Campbeltown and, in fact, to establish Ceann Loch Kilkerran itself as a town rather than as a fortress. The Marquis gave tacks to twelve men, the Laird of Ralston chief among them. They brought the names Cunningham, Forbes, Hamilton, Montgomerie, Mure, and Porterfield into the district.[17] They sublet their lands and thereby brought a considerable Lowland following. When these lairds came to Kintyre in 1650, the tacksman system was still operating and these were really the last of the large tacksmen in Kintyre.[18] In 1653, the rentals show thirty-four persons paying for the houses of Lochhead a total rent of two hundred pounds Scots. The average rent was still the same as in 1636, but a greater number of householders held their tacks free of rent for building.[19] This attempt at plantation differed from the initial ones in including the countryside in its scope as well as Lochhead.

That the Lowlanders maintained themselves as a community apart from the other inhabitants is shown most clearly by kirk affairs.

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[17] Acc.Reg.Arg., 1651-1652, RH/11/6/3.

[18] A. McKerral, Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century (1948), 81.

[19] Acc.Reg.Arg., 1651-1652, RH/11/6/3.

In 1648, the Lowlanders built a preaching house in the town only six years after the Presbytery established the first kirk.[20] The only reason recorded for this segregation was language, with Gaelic being spoken in the established kirk.[21] The early sketchy Presbytery records do not shed light on theological matters. In 1672 when a union of Kilchenzie parish to the town parishes was proposed, perhaps with the intent of saving a minister's stipend, the Lowlanders and Highlanders went their separate ways. William Ralston, chief tacksman on behalf of the Lowlanders in Kintyre at that time, wrote to the Earl of Argyll:

> I perceive that natives here do not incline to enter into a joint submission with us who are Lowlanders . . . (The Lowlanders) do not covet the old church of Campbeltown.[22]

Highlanders came in for particular censure from the Presbytery. Undoubtedly many of the old Kintyre stock and MacDonald followers would be slow to accept religious changes. Presbyterianism had but shallow roots in Kintyre and was virtually synonymous with the plantation. The Highlanders were admonished as a lot in Southend in 1699 for "swearing, cursing, and neglect of family worship."[23]

Even by the middle of the eighteenth century, a traveller to

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[20] "A Short Detail of the Hardships which the Lowland Congregation of Campbeltown Laboured under, " in Minute Book of the Managers of the Relief Church of Campbeltown, 1767, Longrow Church, Campbeltown.

[21] Ibid.

[22] N.L.S., Ms.975, f. 13.

[23] 2 March 1699, Records of the Presbytery of Kintyre, CH 2/1153/1, S.R.O.

Campbeltown noted that the Lowlanders still kept themselves distinct from the rest of the town's inhabitants and were among the most industrious and prosperous of the townsmen.[24] A second traveller confirmed this segregation:

> They (The Lowlanders) steadily maintain their separate existences in names, religion, and associations, though some Highlanders joined their communion.[25]

It certainly was not the church which united two communities of inhabitants.

A last surge of Lowlanders into Kintyre came during the Restoration Period. These Covenanters were the first incomers seeking relief from religious persecution.[26] Most newcomers came from Ayrshire and Renfrewshire. The 1678 rentals for the town show that the new influx included Bruce, Douglas, Gibbon, Hood, Lamont, Murray, and many Campbell families from other parts of Argyllshire.[27] The tacks for the town houses included names of Brown, Dickie, Dunbar, Finlay, Miller, Todd, and Wyllie.[28] The Lowland Baptismal Register records Boyd, Gray, Hutcheson, McTaggart, Park, Reid, Ryburn, and Wright.[29] This Register also shows the

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[24] T. Pennant, A Tour of Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides (3 vols.), London (1772), I, 220.

[25] Lord Teignmouth quoted in C. Bede, Glencreggan: or, A Highland Home in Cantire (2 vols.), London (1861), I, 180.

[26] A. McKerral, Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century (1948), 85.

[27] N.L.S. Ms. 3367, ff. 8-11.

[28] Ibid.

[29] L.B.R., OPR 507/1, New Register House. Hereafter referred to by volume number only.

extent of the Lowland settlement by this time. In 1659 and in the 1660's, five births was the minimum and sixteen births the maximum number recorded for any one year. After 1670, at least thirty were listed each year.[30]

The rentals for the town for 1678 show that waiving rents as an enticement for people to settle and to build was no longer necessary. The leases show no increase in the actual number of lease holders over the 1653 list, but the overall silver rent for the parish had increased to £569, an increase of more than £350.[31] This increase would be due partially to the depreciation of Scots currency at the end of the century, but even more significant is the fact that in 1678 all the householders were paying rents for their houses. One can assume that much of the building which had been encouraged by the low rents of 1653 had been completed and that the properties were now of some considerable value. The typical rent had doubled to £13-6-8.[32]

Lochhead continued, however, to be subjected to periodic lawlessness. A series of raids occurred from May to September, 1685, after the Earl of Atholl's march into the peninsula. When the Earl of Argyll's attempt to overthrow the government was unsuccessful, there followed a series of repressive measures, one being Atholl's examination of suspected supporters of Argyll's. Companies were stationed at Lochhead and Dunaverty to counter Argyll's

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[30] Ibid.

[31] Accounts of the Regality of Argyll, 1633-1652, RH 11/6/2-3. Copy in the Free Library of Campbeltown.

[32] Ibid.

rebellion. After the unsuccessful rebellion, Kintyre was subjected to pillaging at the hands of Atholl's followers. With the status of the House of Argyll very low, it is probable that the old inhabitants were trying to get some of their own back, reeking revenge on the Lowlanders.[33] The robberies would probably be little attended to except for the printing of an "Account of the Depredations of the Clan Campbell and their followers during the years 1685 and 1686 by the troops of the Duke of Gordon, Marquis of Atholl, Lord Strathnaver, and others.[34] As McKerral points out the value in this volume is the light which it throws on the standard of living in Campbeltown at the end of the seventeenth century. From one party in the town was taken fishing gear including a large boat with sails, masts, cables, and compass valued at about £266-13-4 and nets and fishing lines at £80. Household furnishings included clothing, a salt fat or beef tub, a large looking glass, and a brazen candlestick. They also lost riding coats, a feather bolster, and two bee scrapes. One of the town's merchants who was also proprietor of Drumlemble coal mines was robbed of a stock of scythes, horseshoes, bridles, bits, saddles, tar, soap, candles, ropes, paper, and even tobacco. The more exotic elements in the list included French wines, sugar, wax, honey, prunes, raisins, figs, spices, dyes, capers, nutmeg, saffronic liquorice, aniseed, indigo, hops, gall, and cochineal,

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[33] A. McKerral, Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century (1948), 130-133.

[34] N.L.S., a, 112, b. "Account of the Depredations of the Clan Campbell and their Followers during the Years 1685 and 1686". A copy is in the Free Library of Campbeltown.

some items not easily obtained in Campbeltown even today. He also had gloves, ribbons, lace, pearling, embrodiery and silk stolen.[35]

The 1678 Rentals show that by the end of the century the Lowlanders were settled in the countryside as well as the town. The majority settled in the old parishes of Kilkerran, Kilchousland, and Kilmichael, the ones that were united in 1617 into the Campbeltown parish. After 1669 when the Laird of Ralston received a substantial tack of the best lands in Southend, Kilcolmkill, and Kilblaan parishes, the plantation began there. The distribution of Lowlanders and Campbells and the old Kintyre stock is shown by the following table for 1678.[36]

Parish	Lowlanders	Campbells	Kintyre Stock	Total
Kilcolmkill	16	5	41	62
Kilblaan	17	1	19	37
Kilkivan	14	1	33	48
Kilkerran	10	14	22	46
Kilmichael	16	16	26	58
Kilchousland	40	2	2	44
Killean	21	29	22	72
Kilchenzie	5	15	14	34
Saddell	--	20	--	20
Total	139	103	179	421

The new inhabitants, Lowlanders and Campbells, were centred around the burgh or near Southend, the first six parishes on the table. The table shows that the old Kintyre stock was not swept away as has been stated in the past. The civilising of the peninsula

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Table found in A. McKerral, Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century (1948), 84, compiled from "Kintyre Rentals," N.L.S., Ms. 3367.

was very clearly a matter of plantation of a new community within the old.

The occupations listed in the 1678 rentals as well as on the baptismal register suggest that the town had established itself to a considerable degree as a trading centre for the area. Town dwellers still had their grasslands and their small stock. All householders paid part of their rents in poultry, eggs, and horse sheets.[37] They were entitled to varying amounts of grazing on the common land. Fifty-five men had "moss rooms" in 1674, plots for working peats.[38] They were, in effect, farming town dwellers, but the list of occupations shows the diversification of employment.

Weavers were by far the most numerous of the tradesmen, but millers, cordiners, tailors, smiths, maltmen, and coopers were frequently mentioned. A few Lowlanders worked in the coal mine which was beginning in a small way in the neighbourhood of the town and in 1682 the overseer was named.[39] Some worked in the salt pans which were connected closely to the mines. By way of services, an unusually great supply of schoolmasters, fourteen recorded between 1674 and 1681, educated the populace.[40] The list of occupations suggests that trading was beginning between the country where most of the Highlanders, or original Kintyre stock, still resided and the town. There was sufficient trading

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[37] Accounts of the Royalty of Argyll, 1633-1652, RH 11/6/2-3.

[38] 15 May 1674, TCM, I. This list of "Count Moss Rooms" is on a loose sheet contained in this volume.

[39] 1682, L.B.R., I, OPR 507/1.

[40] Ibid.

to make property in and near the town more valuable. It was the development of a pattern of trade which was economically beneficial to both town and country, to both the "planted" Lowlanders and the native Highlanders, that began to integrate the two groups in the next century.

Perhaps because of the success of the Lowland plantation in Kintyre, Campbeltown is an unusual settlement. Exceptional as it is in many ways to the traditional idea of settlement in the Highlands, Campbeltown does not sit well in the company of Lowland burghs. Burgh records provide an interesting example of economic development in a royal burgh in the eighteenth century. Studies have been made of individual industries such as fishing,[41] mining,[42] and distilling[43] but no attempt has been made to look at the overall economic development in the town in these important hundred years.

This study concentrates as much as possible on the eighteenth century. Three reasons led to choosing 1700 for commencement of the research: Campbeltown's appointment as a Royal Burgh in 1700 entitled it to the privileges of that class of burghs; the Town Council Minutes began in earnest in that year and prove a valuable source of information throughout the century; and it became known officially as "Campbeltown" at that time. Events of the seventeenth century are presented by way of introduction.

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[41] A.R. Bigwood, "The Campbeltown Buss Fishery, 1750-1800" (M.L. thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1970).

[42] N. MacMillan, "Coal Mining in Kintyre, 1750-1967" (M.S. thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1972).

[43] D. Colville, "Origin and Romance of the Distilling Industry in Campbeltown," a paper presented to the Kintyre Antiquarian Society 1923.

Economic developments are examined in as much detail as the sources allow. Trade in the first fifty years of the burgh was, to a large extent, internal: the town was providing markets and services for the country people. In the 1750's and the 1760's, there is a noticeable increase in the number of Campbeltown merchants who looked further for trading possibilities, some to North America as well as to the Continent. The Campbeltown merchant in these middle decades of the eighteenth century had a cosmopolitan outlook which would surprise and surpass his twentieth-century counterpart.

The economy at that time was stimulated also by the herring buss fishing aided by Campbeltown's appointment as a point of rendezvous. The development of the fishing, despite its reliance on the government bounty payments, had long-lasting effects for the port.

The coal mines in the area of Drumlemble were developed in the latter half of the eighteenth century with an enthusiasm which has not been equalled since, largely on account of the poor nature of the coal, useful in industry but not desirable for domestic purposes. A salt industry was a natural development in this area endowed with a fuel supply and, even more importantly, encouraged by a fishing industry which had an insatiable demand for salt. Salt manufacturing is interesting, in fact, for its failure to develop in such a conducive environment.

Finally, an examination of the town's economy would not be complete without studying the one resource which was recognised as valuable long before the creation of the town as a Royal Burgh, the healthy crop of barley that Kintyre farmers could gain from the good fertile lands about the town during most years. Throughout the century the town's maltsters were a strong group economically and politically and it was this resource of grain, rather than fish, coal, or salt, which continued to provide a basis for a developing distilling industry in the Campbeltown of the nineteenth century.

The year 1800 has been selected as a termination, although not as comfortably as the year of commencement of the study. By 1800 the merchants had lost their North American colonial markets. Trading for Campbeltown was confined to the Continental ports for the most part, although even this trade was depressed by the dangers imposed by the Napoleonic Wars. By 1800, trading outwith Kintyre was less enticing than at any other time in the century. The bounties from the herring fishing were withdrawn. Coal mining and salt manufacturing were declining industries. Only the developing distilling industry continued to show promise of growth. Therefore after 1800, an economic study would have to take a different perspective, that of studying the growth of one particular industry rather than the wide-ranging economic enthusiasm displayed by Campbeltown merchants of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER 1

DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY

Campbeltown developed rapidly in the first half of the eighteenth century in size, in population, and in importance with regard to the surrounding countryside. The minutes of the Town Council are the diary of the town's progress in these years and provide a fairly satisfactory record of the events in the royal burgh. National events take second place in the minutes with such events as the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745 getting but brief mention in the well-established Campbell stronghold. Of greater interest in the minutes are the detailed accounts of running the burgh, a social and economic commentary on the early years of the royal burgh. The minutes for the first two decades are difficult to decipher both because of the clerk's "Stewart" hand and because of his efforts to save paper. After his death the minutes become somewhat more legible as well as more comprehensive.[1] Various minutes help to piece together the appearance of the burgh in these early years.

At the beginning of the century, the town was a group of houses centred around a half-ruined caslte. The High Street or main thoroughfare ran from the castle down to the loch. Other houses were in small groups: along Longrow, at Dalintober, at Dalaruan, and at Lochend. All were distinct villages at that time, gradually joining up as the town grew.[2] Kirk Street was causeyed in-1715

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[1] 9 May 1721, Minutes of the Town Council of Campbeltown, DC 1/1/1, Strathclyde Regional Archives. Four volumes cover the period of this thesis: 1700-1739, DC 1/1/1; 1739-1767; 1768-1788, DC 1/1/3; 1788-1826, DC 1/1/4. Hereafter reference is made to volume number I - IV.

[2] Col. C. Mactaggart, "Life in Campbeltown in the Eighteenth Century," a paper delivered to the Kintyre Antiquarian Society (1923), 10-12. See map in App. 14.

significantly the street where most of the town magistrates resided.[3] It ran at right angles to the High Street to the east. Longrow, the other main street leading to the west, was causeyed in 1727.[4] The town burn was used for all washing and cleaning despite the keen competition from the maltmen, until a well was sunk at the town cross in 1742.[5] The town had the usual public amenities expected in a royal burgh in the eighteenth century. Kirk Street terminated in the Old Gaelic church or the established church founded in 1642. This slate-roofed building doubled as a school until a small building, thirty-two feet by fifteen feet, was constructed in 1718.[6] The church was not replaced until 1803 by the present Highland church.[7] There was an English school as well as the grammar school, and several other schools in different parts of the parish.[8] In 1706, the Lowland congregation received a thousand pounds from the Synod to help them thatch the"preaching house"which they had previously built and repaired at their own expense.[9] This kirk, constructed of local red sandstone, was used until 1780 when it was replaced by a two-storey structure on the site of the old castle at the top of High Street.[10]

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[3] 30 March 1715, TCM, II.

[4] 4 October 1727, TCM, I.

[5] 25 June 1742, ibid., II.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Mactavish, Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, i, 55.

[8] 18 August 1724, TCM, I.

[9] "A Short Detail of the Hardships," in the Minute Book of the Managers of the Relief Church of Campbeltown, 1767, Longrow Church, Campbeltown.

[10] Parish of Campbeltown Heretor's Book, 1780, HR67/1, S.R.O.

The only other public building of note was the tolbooth in the middle of the High Street. Originally the first floor contained prison cells and the town hall and court room occupied the ground floor.[11] In 1721 its slates, walls, doors, windows and locks were all in good order. By mid-century, it was in such bad repair that "delinquents imprisoned therein make their escape and thereby avoid punishment to the great discouragement of vice."[12] It appeared to remain in ruins for most of the decade for in 1753 Councillor Edward Orr was forced to take an excommunicated methodist minister home with him for "there was no proper jail to contain him."[13] In 1757, "considering the ruinous state of the town's prison," a woman prisoner was refused.[14] The building was reconstructed from 1758 to 1760[15] and the stone spire was added in 1778.[16] A mid-century plan shows the size and layout of the town in some detail.[17] Large domestic buildings were not constructed until the end of the eighteenth century by which time additional streets were formed. Parallel to the Kirk Street nearer to the loch ran Shore Street giving access to the quays. On the Longrow side of High Street ran several lanes and

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[11] 7 June 1721, TCM, I.

[12] 3 September 1754, TCM, II.

[13] Archibald Campbell to the Duke of Argyll, April 1753, Saltoun Collection 16681, ff. 105-6, S.R.O.

[14] 20 July 1757, TCM, II.

[15] 4 November 1757; 16 January 1759; 6 August 1760, TCM, II.

[16] 23 June 1778, TCM, III.

[17] Plan of Campbeltown, 1754, S.C. 17679, ff. 182-3.

closes. The main streets were Bolgam Street near the loch side and Union Street at the upper end near the castle. The old courthouse on Bolgam Street possibly dated from the very end of the seventeenth century although there is no mention of it in the town council minutes. Several three-storey buildings on Longrow and Main Street possibly date from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. They are stucco-fronted buildings incorporating turnpike stairs.[18]

The Shore Street terminated in the old quay which was begun in 1712 "after the fashion of Greenock" and largely prompted by the Dowager Duchess.[19] The building of it was slow, however, with proper construction not beginning until 1722.[20] It was completed by 1765[21] by which time a second quay had been proposed by the chamberlain.[22] The second one was begun in 1754 at a time when the interest in trading intensified.[23] Both quays were constructed by local labour and with town funds although the council petitioned the Convention of Royal Burghs for help in 1763 in meeting the expenses.[24] Increasingly throughout the eighteenth century the town looked to its harbour for its livelihood.

Population statistics for Campbeltown in the first half of the

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[18] The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Argyll, I (Kintyre), 185.

[19] 22 January 1712, TCM, I.

[20] 3 July 1721, TCM, I.

[21] 16 December 1765, TCM, II.

[22] 2 November 1736, TCM, I.

[23] 3 September 1754, TCM, II.

[24] T. Hunter (ed.), Extracts from the Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland (1759-1779), 143.

century are both difficult to find and of dubious reliability. In 1738, the council took the first house-by-house census of the town. Unfortunately, considerable information about the topography of the town is given but nothing about the actual population.[25] In the first decade of the eighteenth century, the Lowland Baptismal Register records an average of forty births per year.[26] After 1715, about sixty are recorded each year and after 1730, seventy and upwards are listed. This Register records only part of the burghal community; since no records exist for the Highland church, it is impossible to determine what proportion of the population was "Lowland" at this time. In importance and in wealth the Lowlanders outweighed their actual numbers, the Highland congregation being poor, "mostly servants."[27] By mid-century the parish population had reached 4597.[28] It has been estimated that perhaps three thousand of these lived in the town itself.[29] By 1790, the parish population was 8715 according to the Statistical Account.[30] Approximately five thousand of these lived in the town.[31] The growth in Campbeltown was rapid in the second half of the eighteenth century with the population almost doubling in fifty years.

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[25] 10 October 1738, TCM, I.

[26] L.B.R., OPR 507/1.

[27] O.S.A., x, p.546. 28 July 1750, Rec. Presby. Kin., CH 2/1153/4.

[28] J.G. Kyd (ed.), Scottish Population Statistics including Webster's Analysis of Population, 1755 (S.H.S.), 33-35.

[29] C. Mactaggart, "Life in Campbeltown," 10.

[30] O.S.A., x, 546.

[31] C. Mactaggart, "Life in Campbeltown," 10.

The economic importance of the town increased rapidly as well, as Campbeltown merchants strengthened their domination in the trade of the vicinity. The term "merchant" was one that could cover a variety of sins in Campbeltown. The record of the town council in many respects is the history of the importance of the merchant in the town. Most of the eighteenth century's provosts had a hand in the mercantile affairs, six of them labelled "merchant."[32] Many of the local lairds were merchants such as Charles McNeill of Carskiey, John Campbell of Saddell or Francis Farquharson of Clachaig. A large number of the merchants alternated between the description of merchant and maltman. Maltmen were among the most common entrants to the freedom of the burgh; the maltmen's guild was the first to apply to the town council for incorporation in 1703;[33] and maltmen's concerns occupy a great proportion of the town council's business. These are clear indications of the importance of the maltmen within the larger classification of merchant and the power of the maltmen in guiding the affairs of the town council and in regulating the trade in Campbeltown in their own interests.

The maltmen played an important part in linking the economies of town and country in the early years of the century. In the spring when tenants were short of cash or seed, Campbeltown maltmen provided credit to help farmers buy seed corn, stock, or implements necessary for carrying on the year's work. At the harvest the maltmen

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[32] William Finlay and William Buchanan were both provosts in the 1750's. William McKinlay and Francis Farquharson probably held that office as well. See app. 6.

[33] 29 Nov. 1703, TCM, I.

collected the barley from the tenants getting their returns on their loans plus the interest and they used the barley in the malting businesses. The maltman appeared in many respects to be a middleman, an agent to help tide the tenants over difficult times and to provide them with capital in a relatively poor economy. In many ways, they fulfilled a role played in earlier times by the Kintyre tacksman.

The tacksman's place has been a controversial one and the case is not closed by any means. Johnson and Boswell, on their tour of the Highlands sang the praises of the tacksmen and cited their many aristocratic qualities.[34] Called tacksmen because they held a tack or lease from their chief for a certain amount of land, they paid him a rent, offered him their support in war time and, in fact, acted as a type of middlemen between the chief and his lesser tenants. This latter role has proved to be the controversial one. For a long while tacksmen were the recipients of bad press stemming to a significant degree from Duncan Forbes' report to his superior, John, 2nd Duke of Argyll, in 1737, from the survey he made of Argyll's insular estates.[35] Many of the ills of estate management were attributed to the parasitic functioning of the tacksmen who lived on the difference they were able to extract between the rents they collected from the lesser tenants and the rent

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[34] S. Johnson, A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, London (1775), 78-80.

[35] Report by Duncan Forbes of Culloden to John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich (1737) reprinted in Crofters Commission Report (1884), App. ixxxv, 380-394. I am indebted to E.R. Cregeen for his examination of this report presented in "The Tacksman and their Successors," Scottish Studies, (1969), xiii, 93-144.

they paid to their landlord chiefs. In some cases the difference was cited as being thirty per cent profit.[36] Equally grievous were the services demanded by the tacksmen of their subtenants.

Economically, the system was doomed. As the landlord-chiefs looked for increasing amounts of money to improve their homes and estates and to maintain a standard of living comparable to their southern counterparts, the difference between what the subtenants paid the tacksmen and what the tacksmen paid in the end to the laird was bound to be an enticement to change. In addition bad harvests and poor sales of black cattle in the 1730's discouraged the collection of rents even further.[37] In Argyll, the report by Duncan Forbes signalled the change. After the extensive tour of Mull, Tiree, and Coll he reported to the Duke on the extremes of poverty he found and he recommended, against the chamberlain's advice, abolition of the tacksmen system replaced by a scheme of competitive bidding for leases.[38] In theory the ideas recommended themselves with higher rents for the landlords and more incentives for the smaller tenants; in practice, the changes failed with tenants outbidding each other till rents reached unrealistic figures. To make matters worse the tacksmen began emigrating and thus withdrawing

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[36] Crofters Commission Report (1884), 390.

[37] 14 April 1746, S.L., iii, f. 106, GD 14/10. Also 19 February 1737, S.L., iii, f. 170.

[38] Crofters Commission Report (1884), 390.

essential support and capital from the area.[39]

The tacksmen, even in the eighteenth century, were not without their supporters. Archibald Campbell, the Duke's Chamberlain in the 1730's, was their advocate. The Stonefield brothers or half-brothers, sons of the Rev. Alexander Campbell of Auchincloich, were to a large extent accountable for the management of the Argyll estates from 1706 to 1748. James, a Campbell of Dunstaffnage, was the chamberlain until his death in 1729 when Archibald, a Campbell of Breadalbane, succeeded him. They both applied the principles to the larger estate that they used in running their own smaller estate of Stonefield in north Kintyre. They both showed an understanding of the situation of the tenants, pleading for indulgence with rent arrears from the Duke in more difficult times.[40] Their letter books which run to 1738 provide valuable information on the management of the Argyll estates. After 1743, when Lord Milton of Saltoun was appointed to replace Forbes in managing the affairs for Archibald, 3rd Duke of Argyll, the correspondence between Stonefield, the chamberlain, and Lord Milton is most valuable.[41] Throughout the correspondence runs

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[39] E. Cregeen, "Tacksmen and their Successors," (1969), 124-129.

[40] 23 December 1731, S.L., iii, f.1, GD 14/10.

[41] Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, was a friend of Archibald Campbell, Earl of Islay and 3rd Duke of Argyll. He was in general charge of Argyll estates after 1743. His general correspondence covers 1720-1765, S.C.16525-16733. Papers relevant to Kintyre cover 1629-1754, S.C. 17679 and 1755-60, S.C. 17680.

the theme that the chamberlain recognised the economic importance of the tacksmen. Recent historians have recognised this importance of the middleman, and somewhat vindicated the tacksman.[42] It has been shown that he played an essential part in an economy lacking in capital by sustaining production by the loans and aid he gave his sub-tenants. Significantly, McKerral in his writings on seventeenth-century Kintyre has also vindicated the tacksman and explained the system's peculiarities in Kintyre. All the Kintyre rentals before 1700 were tacksmen's rentals; therefore, anyone who held a lease was entitled to the name.[43] Two of the largest holdings in Kintyre were the fifty-three merkland of lands of Macdonald of Largie given to Campbell of Inverawe in 1651 and the forty-four merklands in Southend and Campbeltown given by the Earl of Argyll to the Laird of Ralston in 1669.[44] Although these were exceptional in size, the tacksman's holdings in Kintyre were large and might extend to twenty merkland or more. On the other hand, some were small, being only a merkland or less. The tacksman had hereditary right after possession of three generations which was eighty-one years.[45]

The unusual system of steelbow tenancy existed at least as late as 1710 in Kintyre. McNeill of Carskiey was a large landholder-turned-

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[42] See A. McKerral, "The Tacksman and his Holdings in the Southwest Highlands," S.H.R., xvi, 280; E.R. Cregeen, "Tacksmen and their Successors," (1969).

[43] A. McKerral, Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century (1948), 134.

[44] Ibid,, 135.

[45] Ibid., 134.

merchant. In an agreement with one of his tenants he granted the tenant a half merkland stocked, as well as ten bolls of seed corn and two bolls of seed barley, ten cows, timber, iron, and the horses needed to work the land. In return the tenant had to meet certain obligations:

> for which the said Neill Binds and obliges him and his to pay to me or mine yearly Ten Bolls of Corn and Six Bolls of Barley at ilk term of Candlemass, and yet sufficient and merchantable off the usual measure of Kintyre also for the Ten Kows obliges him and his to pay to me or mine Eight stons the Couple with a stirk which is all ffortie stons and ffive stirks Sufficient according to the custom of the Country.[46]

For the other half merkland of land the tenant agreed to pay a silver rent at each term of Martinmas.[47] This system appears to have existed until the 1730's.

That decade was a difficult one in Kintyre as well as other parts of Argyll. As early as 1731, the chamberlain submitted pleas to the Duke on behalf of the Kintyre tenants:

> By experience I find in your Grace's affairs as well as in my own little concerns that it is necessary for a landlord to give some indulgence to his tenant according to his circumstances, and I'm afraid there was seldom more occasion for it than will be this year.[48]

The economy was changing with a lessening demand for the black

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[46] "A Steelbow Tenancy Agreement" in F. Mackay (ed.), MacNeill of Carskey's Estate Journal, 1703-1743, Edinburgh, (1955), App. C., 100.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Archibald Campbell to the Duke of Argyll, 23 December 1731, S.L., iii, f.1.

cattle, the capital of Kintyre at that time:

> There was scarcely a year between 1730 and 1740 when low cattle prices were not mentioned, or when, for this or other reasons farmers and landlords in the West Highlands were not in difficulties.[49]

In 1733 and 1734 the crop failure caused even more hardship in finding rents. The spring of 1736 carried off many cattle in Kintyre and it was followed by one of the worst years of the decade.[50] The chamberlain reported that he settled with most inhabitants on rents. For some of the higher rents he could not get tacks taken and he advised abatements.[51] When His Grace firmly replied that abatements could not be allowed, the chamberlain argued:

> They must be waste which will sink the rents altogether. Since His Grace gave directions not to lower the rents, some seven or eight have not been possessed from Whitsunday last.[52]

By this time economic change was underway in Kintyre, forced by the Duke's grasping at rents and worsened by the earlier poor years and lack of capital in the district. The chamberlain again summarised the situation:

> Since ever I had occasion to know anything of the business of this country there were always before this time of year eight hundred or a thousand cattle sold off in Kintyre to people from the Low Country, Galloway or our dealers here. This summer there is not a man come to the country to buy one head.[53]

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[49] E. Cregeen, "Tacksmen and their Successors," (1969), 111.

[50] 22 June 1737, S.L., iii, f.188, GD 14/10.

[51] 10 May 1737, S.L., iii, f. 195, GD 14/10.

[52] 22 June 1732, S.L., iii, f.202, GD 14/10.

[53] Ibid.

The system operating with tacksmen appears to have died out naturally to some extent in Kintyre. If the market in black cattle failed, the tacksmen would be as unable to collect their rents as they were unable to pay rents to the Duke. McKerral says that loss of position and social standing was the principle motive of early emigration of Kintyre tacksmen.[54] When the 2nd Duke began giving leases to working farmers no place remained for the tacksman. The first entry in the customs books of Campbeltown cites the sailing of the Thistle to Cape Fear, North Carolina with Neill McNeill, a Kintyre tacksman.[55] Removal of tacksmen caused even more hardship in other parts of Argyll.[56]

Kintyre escaped the dire poverty experienced in other areas at this time largely because of the presence of the town, particularly the large number of maltmen in the town. They provided a substitute for the tacksmen. In the 1710 Steelbow agreement previously cited it was a Campbeltown landowner-merchant who provided the capital or the stock for his tenants so they could carry on the year's activities. This McNeill appears to have been adapting to the changing times turning merchant as conditions warranted; others of his family, such as the Thistle emigrant, were less adaptable.

The year 1747, an important one in determining what was to be done with the grain collected from the 3rd Duke's Kintyre estates,

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[54] A. McKerral, "The Tacksman and His Holdings in the Southwest Highlands," S.H.R., xvi, 280.

[55] 6 June 1749, Campbeltown Customs Letter Books, CE 82/1/1, S.R.O.

[56] E. Cregeen, "Tacksmen and their Successors," (1969), 125.

reveals a good deal about the transactions between maltmen and tenants. Prior to that year John Reid, an Inverary maltman, had Kintyre barley for twenty years at eleven shillings three pence per boll and later at eleven shillings per boll paid in equal amounts at Whitsun and Lambas.[57] In 1747, Mr. Fisher, also of Inverary, was offering to give ten shillings per boll of barley or "what Campbeltown maltmen give their tenants in Kintyre.[58] This proposal did not appeal to the chamberlain because the price was not fixed. He foresaw constant bargaining between maltmen and tenants over the price of a boll with the tenant more often losing:

> When the latter (tenants) are pinched for money they run to the maltmen to be supply'd very likely upon that account the price may be lower than 10s 2/3d.[59]

On the other hand, Mr. Reid's offer was for a fixed amount over a three-year period. In a year of surplus, the price could fall. It was in the Duke's interest to protect his tenants and to see that they got as much as possible from the maltmen.

In the spring when the tenant needed seeds and supplies, his cash was at its lowest. He could turn to the maltmen, as purchasers of his future crop, to supply him with cash or seed, on the promise of the maltman receiving so many bolls of barley at harvest time. Because he was in effect the banker for the tenant, the maltman was able to drive a hard bargain and no doubt push the price per boll down, particularly with the harvest weather unknown. The maltman can be

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[57] "Memorial Concerning the Bear from Kintyre," October 1747, S.C. 17679, f. 22.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

viewed as the Shylock of the system, displaying all the evils of the capitalist; but the fact remains that the maltman, like the tacksman before him, performed a necessary function in an economy lacking capital. On Tiree or Coll, where the tenant had no intermediary to whom to turn after the abolition of the tacksman system, a bad harvest one year meant two or three years of dearth for no one was able to cushion the losses.[60] At least in Kintyre, the maltmen in their desire to gain as much grain as possible at a low price, ensured that the tenant would have seed corn each spring.

The chamberlain described the pitfalls of the system to Archibald, the 3rd Duke:

> In contracts of victual it is too common for the proprietor to assign the merchants to the victual payable by the tenants by which means the merchants have it in their power to charge the highest price of the market, for every undelivered boll, but it has been observed as an invariable rule for any contracts made for the late Duke not to leave the tenants at the merchants' mercy and that the merchants should have only right to the victual delivered in by the tenants.[61]

The tenants of the Duke of Argyll's estates, therefore, were protected somewhat in having the chamberlain as their agent in the bargaining. Other tenants, going directly to the maltmen in their dealings, were perhaps more often subject to this hazard of being held responsible for undelivered promised bolls of barley.

The maltmen also had the ability of adapting themselves to changing

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[60] E. Cregeen, "Tacksmen and their Successors," (1969), 131-2.

[61] "Memorial Concerning the Bear from Kintyre," October 1747, S.C. 17679, f.22.

conditions each year. The year 1747 saw many merchants taking up malting:

> Duncan McKenzie is going to take to malting himself this year and very probably many people will follow that business as victual is like to be at a low rate.[62]

McKenzie was one of the dubious race of merchant/maltman who could cash in on abundant cheap grain when the prices suited. On the other hand, in years of dearth and high prices when the tenants most needed cash and supplies, the likes of Duncan McKenzie could turn to other pursuits. The tenant, therefore, was always at the mercy of the maltmen, but at least they could rely upon a purchaser of their grain if the price was right.

The great scarcity of grain in 1757 stimulated much correspondence that helps to explain the bargaining that had developed in the grain trade at that time. The year was a notoriously distressing one, even worse in the south of Kintyre than in the north.[63] The chamberlain complained that "of the seven hundred bolls that should be got there is not one hundred and twenty come in."[64] In January the Justices of the Peace stopped the malting of grain and the exporting of grain and seized what was in the malt kilns.[65] The chamberlain listed (in an attempt to explain why 1757 was "the year of the worst paid rents") the complaints that year in a letter to Lord Milton.[66] He was unable to collect more than four hundred pounds in rent; the cattle were too weak to poind; he was obliged to give out the seed corn rather than to have the land lie waste; and he complained that

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[62] Ibid.

[63] Lord Milton to the Duke of Argyll, May 1757, S.C. 16698, f.159.

[64] Chamberlain to the Duke of Argyll, 23 April 1757, S.C. 16698, f.126.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

some of the tenants sold what barley they had to the maltmen without paying up their teinds.[67] The situation was worsened by the failure of the other source of capital in Kintyre:

> The herring fishing did also misgive so much in the Isles, which was the only fund that supplied this place with money that even the people of Campbeltown have not cash to pay for the little grain that they got from the tenants.[68]

The chamberlain also had difficulty getting tenants to take the tacks:

> A great many of the new tacksmen last spring offering to me to give up their tacks at Whitsunday. I got all of them persuaded to continue to see what this cropt might produce.[69]

The town council went through the motions of trying to relieve the distress in Campbeltown. They banned malting and exporting of grain.[70] They gave five pounds to the poor of the town.[71] Throughout that year, the minutes are filled with complaints of insufficient funds - for the tolbooth, for the quays, for the roads, for maintaining the poor in the town - until they finally borrowed money for the first time.[72] Although the town was in such distress and an embargo was placed on teind bear and multure meal, yet a complaint was made that the magistrates of Campbeltown sent a thousand bolls of emergency meal to the Clyde to get the higher price offered there.[73]

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[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Chamberlain to the Duke of Argyll, 2 July 1757, S.C. 16698, f. 129.

[70] 7 January 1757, TCM, II.

[71] 28 April 1757, TCM, II.

[72] 20 July 1757; 25 August 1757; 4 November 1757, TCM, II.

[73] James Campbell, Commissary in Inverary, to Lord Milton, 5 March 1757, S.C. 16699, ff. 29-30.

This shipment was grain which was brought to Campbeltown specifically to supply His Grace's works at Drumlemble and the needy inhabitants in the town.[74] The provost, a merchant, denied the charge that he was selling the poor's grain for profit.[75] However, considering that the price per boll that year was sixteen shillings eight pence, being the highest that the chamberlain ever saw charged for the Duke's victual in Kintyre,[76] the circumstances were suspicious. Grain was also given to the magistrates periodically in 1757 to divide among the tenants.[77]

The crop the following year was good considering the dearth of the spring before and the fact that the tenants could not sow their usual quantity of seed. Money was scarce in 1758, however, for two reasons. The first was the fall of the black cattle market. The chamberlain proposed a sale in May "which I hope will produce some money as the tenants must sell let the price be what it will."[78] The other reason for the lack of capital was the failure of the fishing again in 1758:

> There is no cash in the country to be got and though the tenants have some grain this year to sell yet the merchants and maltmen of Campbeltown who were their ordinary customers have not money in hand to pay for their stock in salt from following of the herring fishing, which in a great measure has misgiven both in the Western Isles and at home.[79]

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[74] Ibid.

[75] William Buchanan, Provost of Campbeltown, to Lord Milton, 26 March 1757, S.C. 16699, f.82.

[76] Chamberlain to Duke of Argyll, 2 July 1757, S.C. 16698, f. 129.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Chamberlain to Lord Milton, 2 May 1758, S.C. 16703, ff. 152-3.

[79] Chamberlain to Lord Milton, 2 February 1758, S.C. 16703, ff. 150-1.

The maltmen no doubt had their fingers burned badly in 1757 by the dearth of barley. Foreseeing a bad year in 1758 because of the small amount of seed corn, they had undoubtedly turned their sights on other ventures, in particular the herring fishing which was just beginning in earnest in this decade in Campbeltown as a port of rendezvous for the bounties. Investing considerable sums in salt particularly and in supplies in general, it would be little wonder that the maltmen/merchants would have little capital left for purchasing grain whether or not the fishing succeeded or failed in 1758.

The maltmen/merchants of Campbeltown were by 1757/8 key factors in supplying money in the Campbeltown area to help pay the rents and they had assumed the role, in many respects, not unlike that the tacksmen had played earlier. However, they showed a greater flexibility than the tacksmen had: they were able to change from malt or grain to fish as the season suited. By this flexibility they were able to drive hard bargains withthe tenants even in years of grain surplus and they were able to cover their losses in years of dearth by concentrating their efforts on the fishing. Only in particularly bad years when both the grain and the fish were scarce did the system seem to lack capital completely.

To study the commerce of the burgh in this period then is to examine the increasing control that the Campbeltown maltmen in particular and merchants in general exercised over the transactions inthe area. The actual number of maltmen gives an initial impression of their importance. In the Lowland Baptismal Register, ten maltmen

were listed from 1659 to 1683.[80] In the earliest years of the royal burgh when men paid three pounds to gain the right to trade in the burgh, "maltman" was the most common occupation listed among the entrants.[81] In 1703, fourteen maltmen applied for incorporation as a guild.[82] In 1719, an enactment against the import of foreign spirits was signed by forty-two persons, predominantly maltmen and brewers.[83] Twenty-one persons signed a petition in 1743 for regulating the quality of barley brought into the town.[84] This petition was immediately enacted by the town council giving even further powers to the maltmen in Campbeltown, certainly numbering more than twenty-one by that time.[85] By 1767, one observer reported that Lowlanders who continued to maintain a separate existence in Campbeltown "were possessed of all the malting business and admitted none but their own persuasion to it."[86] He claimed this enticed Highlanders to join the Lowland congregation.[87] Although exact figures can not be given to the number of maltmen in Campbeltown in any given year, they were undoubtedly a large group, a minimum of twenty-one persons in 1743.[88] It can also be stated that by that year they were

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[80] L.B.R., OPR 507/1A.

[81] TCM, I.

[82] 29 February 1703, TCM, I.

[83] 15 March 1719, TCM, I.

[84] 16 October 1743, TCM, II.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Lord Teignmouth in Bede, Glencreggan, (1861), i, 181.

[87] Ibid.

[88] 10 October 1743, TCM, II.

a completely Lowland group. The 1719 list of petitioners, allowing for the fact that the list included retailers of wines and spirits as well as maltmen and distillers, has many "Highland" names. The 1743 list, by comparison, would indicate that the business was very much in the hands of the Lowland segment of the population, as Lord Teignmouth suggested.

More significant than the actual numbers of petitioners in any given year, is the overall control that these various petitions and enactments indicate that the maltmen were able to exercise. The functioning of the town council and the passage of several of these controls on the malting industry is worth examining in detail. The maltmen appeared to dominate the town councils of the royal burgh from the beginning.

The eighteenth-century councils were self-perpetuating as in most royal burghs at the time with the old and new councillors together electing new magistrates from a leet provided by the Duke of Argyll at Michaelmas and with the understanding that the ex-baillies sat on the council for a year following their office and the provost for a lifetime. Conservatism was built into the system. Usually about twenty members sat in council in Campbeltown with Lowlanders and maltmen, a fairly synonymous group, dominating. The functioning of this body is not unlike the Ayrshire counterparts presented by Galt. Annually the Argyll estate gave a dinner for new councillors. An expense account for civic entertainment given by Baillie Orr on behalf of the Duke sounds very like one of Provost Pawkie's functions in Gudetown with a list of bottles of claret, Lisbon wine, beer, and

broken cups adding up to £44-7s-5d.[89] One is left to wonder if the Campbeltown provost, too, had a spare wig at home.[90]

The attention directed to the maltmen and their affairs in the minutes of the town council is the strongest indication of their control over the commerce of the town. In 1703, when the maltmen were the first to apply for incorporation as a trade, they showed a strong desire to act "as the visitor and masters of corporations of ye maltmen in ye city of Glascou does and acts in all poynts and caices.[91] At this relatively late stage in the history of guilds and incorporations, this restriction of maltmen to those officially recognised by the guild, was only the first, and perhaps the least important attempt of the Campbeltown maltmen to contain the business within the limited circle of privilege. They had powers of admitting freemen and apprentices to their trade, arranging terms of trade, and protecting all their own interests. A "visitor" or inspector was elected for the maltmen.[92]

A series of relatively minor acts at the beginning of the century further convey the impression of how much of council time was, in fact, taken up with maltmen's affairs. The town burn caused serious disagreements between maltmen and the townspeople and among maltmen themselves, each one vying for the valuable supply of water at the danger of impeding the flow to the others. In 1710, an act was passed by the magistrates prohibiting washing in the town water

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[89] Edward Orr, Baillie of Campbeltown to Lord Milton, 16 May 1754, S.C. Box 412, f.3.

[90] John Galt, The Provost, London (1913), Chapt. 22.

[91] 29 February, 1703, TCM, I.

[92] 2 November 1705, TCM, I.

"because said water is used by the inhabitants of the burgh for their meal, brewing, and other such uses and ought to be kept clean and not to be abused."[93] The influence of the brewers and maltmen was sufficient in 1719 to get enacted the prohibition on the import of any foreign spirits whatsoever.[94] The fifty subscribers agreed to ban "any Brandy or Spirits of whatever kind or denomination made without the Kingdom of Great Britain for three years."[95] The subscribers included a number of "Highland" names - or names not associated with the plantation in Kintyre. Twenty-three names were Lowland, ones increasingly associated with the making of malt in Campbeltown.

The act which was of greatest significance to the maltmen of Campbeltown, however, was passed in 1732. That act, as much as any in the eighteenth century, showed the power of the town's maltmen and merchants to control the commerce of the royal burgh in their own interests. In this act the malting industry of Kintyre was clearly placed in the hands of the town's maltmen. The town's burgesses had exclusive trading and manufacturing rights to the whole of Kintyre from the River Bardaravin south of Tarbert to the Mull.[96] The privileges of freemen of the royal burghs gave them powers against which the landward craftsmen and men without the freedom of the burgh could not compete: ensuring that all goods for sale passed through Campbeltown, primarily at the Wednesday market with all the regulations for weighing, measuring, pricing and exacting customs in

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[93] 7 October 1703; 15 May 1710, TCM, I.

[94] 15 March 1719, TCM, I.

[95] Ibid.

[96] See map in App. 1.

the hands of the town's magistrates. No trade was as carefully regulated in the first half of the eighteenth century in Campbeltown as that of the grain trade, the most valuable resource in Kintyre. The collection of ladles, the duties charged on importing or exporting barley, meal, malt, and corn, always exceeded the other branches of duties by a significant amount. The bonds for the amounts collected each year from 1701 for the anchorage and shore dues, the tronage and petty customs, and the ladles are included at the back of each volume of the town council minutes.[97] The currency changed to pounds sterling about 1735/6.[98] The annual roup or auction of these duties provided a valuable source of revenue for the town.

Campbeltown maltmen zealously guarded their privileges and frequently complained of illegal landings of grain outwith the town's jurisdictions.[99] Prevention of forestalling of the market gave the councillors one of their most lucrative privileges. Any attempt to avoid exposing goods to the scrutiny of the dean of guild or the council-appointed inspectors constituted forestalling or selling outwith the appointed market. As early as 1701 the complaint was lodged with the council that merchants and maltmen were collecting goods from country people to avoid paying duties for bringing goods into the town.[100] It was forbidden for any freemen or burghers to go to the country between market days to buy meal, corn, bear, butter,

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[97] TCM, I-IV.

[98] TCM, I.

[99] 23 September 1707; 15 May 1728; 15 November 1733; 19 January 1738, TCM, I. 7 September 1750, TCM, II.

[100] 21 June 1701, TCM, I.

eggs, poultry, or potatoes except what they bring in for their own use.[101] This regulation of trade took strict enforcement because the complaint was common in the minutes that bargains were being struck illegally between town and country folk, thus avoiding these town duties.[102]

The act passed in 1732 sealed the monopoly of the town's maltmen on the business. It proclaimed that all malt was to be inspected at the Laigh Tolbooth "owing to bad malt having been brought to town by country maltsters."[103] Each boll was to be inspected at the charge of a shilling. Such inspection would further discourage country malt being brought into the town, particularly as it was deemed as inferior by the very wording of the act. The town's magistrates enacted and enforced the restrictions. In 1735, three of the nine visitors of liquors and mercats were appointed to act as judges of the sufficiency of malt liquors.[104]

The town's mills at this time became an additional means by which the council could control the commerce of the burgh. The mills were a handicap to tenants and country maltmen and a source of power and wealth to certain of the town's men who were maltmen as well. A complaint was lodged in 1734 against the tacksman of the mills that they were not grinding malt fast enough.[105] The complaint arose again the next

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[101] 15 March 1703, TCM, I.

[102] 16 May 1710; 15 May 1728; 16 March 1733, TCM, I.

[103] 18 March 1732, TCM, I.

[104] 29 September 1737, TCM, I.

[105] 4 March 1734, TCM, I.

year.[106] The town then requested the tack for the mills from the 2nd Duke and obtained it.[107] Two town councillors and maltmen, Edward Orr Jr. and David Watson, ran the mill for the town and received the multure malt payable by the tenants.[108] It was restated in the minutes of 1738 that all malt from the country was to be ground in the town and to pay the town's treasurer as tacksman of the mills six pence per boll in lieu of the traditional payment of "multure and groat."[109] The control over the mill lasted until 1758 when no tacksman could be found.[110] Presumably by that year after the previous year's dearth and the maltmen's swing of interest to the fishing, the tack was no longer considered as worthwhile as before. The mills was yet another means by which tenants and maltmen from outwith Campbeltown were increasingly pulled into the town's net of economic activity as long as it was deemed profitable.

Eleven years after the council demanded malt be brought into the town and inspected, the magistrates decided that it was in the interest of all for the tenants to bring the barley itself into the town, rather than for the maltmen to go to the country to collect it.[111] A petition was received from the maltmen de-

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[106] 26 July 1735, TCM, I.

[107] 5 March 1737, TCM, I.

[108] Ibid.

[109] 20 March 1738, TCM, I.

[110] 18 August 1758, TCM, II.

[111] 10 October 1743, TCM, II.

tailing their complaints. The custom had been for the maltmen of the burgh to send their servants into the country on a good day sometime between Yule and Candlemas to collect the barley from the tenants. Because the competition was keen and the time short for collection, unskilled servants were employed for the work to the detriment of the barley, "one of the greatest commodity this country produces."[112] The twenty-one petitioners requested that it be enacted that the barley be brought into Campbeltown by the country tenants. The petition was immediately enacted, not surprisingly, when nine of the twenty-one petitioners were councillors themselves and two of them were town baillies.[113]

The names of the petitioners reveal a good deal about the ownership and control of the malting business in 1743. The one factor that appears to unite most, if not all, of the twenty-one is their membership in the Lowland congregation in Campbeltown.[114] The other common denominator among the names is their participation in the town council. Only three appear never to have been councillors:

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[112] Ibid.

[113] 29 September 1743, TCM, II.

[114] "A Short Detail of the Hardships," in the Minute Book of the Managers of the Relief Church of Campbeltown, 1767.

James Finlay, Duncan Hendry, and J. Picken. One of the twenty-one, William Finlay, was most likely the same Finlay who served as provost of the town from 1753 until 1757.[115] At least three were town baillies: Archibald Fleming, Edward Orr, and David Watson.[116] David Watson had also been town treasurer.[117] He and Orr were also tacksmen of the town's mills at this time.[118] Numerous others held minor positions on the council. It is evident that the maltmen's voice on the council was a loud one, particularly in the 1740's and 1750's.

Several of the surnames show a continuation of the malting business within a family. James Clerk or Clark was the son of Donald, a maltman and member of the town council.[119] Archibald Fleming Jr., and Sr. were influential maltmen in the town. The name Galbreath is one associated particularly with malting with

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[115] 1753-1757, TCM, II. See app. 6.

[116] TCM, II. All three were baillies at various times in the 1740's and 1750's.

[117] 10 October 1759, TCM, II.

[118] 20 March 1738, TCM, I.

[119] 29 September 1740, TCM, II. See app. 9.

David, John and Samuel, all maltmen, and later in the century, Archibald, a distiller. The Harveys or Harvies participated in malting and traded extensively in grain. The Orr business passed from father to son to grandson. The Ryburn wealth was handed from David Senior to Junior and then to Matthew. Matthew Watson followed his father David in the town council as well as in the malting.[120]

Sufficient can be discovered about several of these families or individuals to give insight into the background and wealth of the Campbeltown maltman. The name Edward Orr was in the town council minutes from the inception.[121] Edward Senior signed the 1719 petition to prohibit importing foreign spirits.[122] Edward Junior appeared to gather a considerable wealth about him. As well as being deemed maltman/merchant, he carried on extensive trading to Ireland and acted as an agent for several Irish companies exporting fish to the West Indies.[123] He had leases to town and country properties. He married into another Campbeltown

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[120] 30 September 1743, TCM, II.

[121] 14 April 1701, TCM, I.

[122] 15 March 1719, TCM, I.

[123] Campbeltown Customs Quarterly Accounts, E 504/8/3, S.R.O.

mercantile family. His only son, Robert, followed his father in the mercantile business. He became involved in the transatlantic trade and the buss fishery. Later in the century he owned a Campbeltown distillery.[124]

This pattern appears to have been the general one among the merchant families in the town. For the most part the merchant/maltmen early in the eighteenth century were descendants of the seventeenth-century Lowland settlers. One generation was admitted to the freedom of the burgh, most often in the occupation of maltman. The majority of them signed the 1719 petition to prohibit the importing foreign spirits. By the middle of the century, the majority of these families, usually the next generation, were involved to some extent in trading to Ireland or even further afield. They were attracted by the lucrative bounty payments of the buss fishery scheme. The wealthier among them owned shares in a large number of busses and perhaps even ventured into the transatlantic trade in the especially busy years for the port in the 1760's. Other interests were the drawback trade, the coal mining at Drumlemble, and early efforts at distilling. As well as the Orrs, the Ryburns, Watsons, Farquharsons, and the Flemings follwed this general pattern. They all showed a

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[124] 16 October 1772 and 23 November 1771, CC/2/3/11, S.R.O.

flexibility to change their interests to suit the times. These men, and the capital they represented, kept the economy of the town thriving from year to year.[125]

Summary

By mid-century, the maltmen in Campbeltown were a large group, primarily - or even entirely since no exception is evident - members of the Lowland congregation, a powerful voice in the town council and, as a whole, a wealthy group of families. Most significantly, they managed to create a town which was an economic, as much as a political, centre. By their loans of capital and supplies to country tenants and by their numerous acts which ensured that grain passed through the town and that salt was manufactured within its bounds, they kept the capital flowing in and about Kintyre even when the black cattle market failed. Their control of the town mill was yet another way of increasing Campbeltown's importance. In the short range their aims were selfish ones; in the long term, the benefit they did Kintyre in stimulating agriculture in the middle of the eighteenth century was of great value.

In the latter part of the century, the capital spread itself more diversely and "merchant" was not automatically

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[125] See app. 8 for details of individual families

associated with maltmen. In the 1750's, the herring buss fishing helped to create an interest in Campbeltown and to make it an important centre as a rendezvous point for a large area of the west of Scotland. But one is left wondering if, in fact, the successful development of buss fishing, as well as the later but equally important distilling industry, would have been possible without the capital base created in the early years of the century from the malting business which developed so naturally from the fertile fields around Campbeltown.

A comparison of rents paid for town properties in the first half of the eighteenth century shows the increasing value of the town land. In 1711, the total rent of the town was £54-12-4.[126] By 1738, it was £165-19-8, an increase of £111-7-4.[127] At that time the chamberlain was advising the 2nd Duke to encourage long leases in the town:

> As that place is very well suitable for trade it seems to be very much your interest to give the Inhabitants all reasonable encouragement. I may venture to say that the trade and consumption of that place does already make your lands in that country sett to so good advantage as the tenants are to become lyable to repair their houses and leave them in good condition at the end of their leases. They would expect long leases besides that it would be ane encouragement to them to build good houses.[128]

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[126] State of the Rent of Coall of Kintyre and Campbeltown Houses in 1748, S.L., iii, f. 261, GD 14/10.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Archibald Campbell to the Duke of Argyll, 4 June 1735, S.L., iii, f. 101, GD 14/10.

As would be expected the rents from the Kintyre farm tacks, particularly those in the vicinity of Campbeltown, were healthy ones. The relationship between the maltmen and the tenants initially, and latterly between industry and agriculture in general, was responsible for the favourable situation. Archibald Campbell as chamberlain to the 2nd and 3rd Dukes understood and appreciated this relationship and attributed Kintyre's higher standard of living in Argyll to the exchange between town and country:

> Happy were it for the Highlands,
> when lands in general are improveable,
> that there were a greater number of
> towns and villages to carry on trade
> and manufactures.[129]

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[129] Archibald Campbell to the Duke of Argyll, S.L., iii, f. 257, GD 14/10.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGN TRADE

Royal burghs in Scotland had a monopoly of external and internal trade, but successive acts in the seventeenth century gradually altered their status, until in 1672, Parliament made efforts to free Scotland's trade from the stranglehold of these burghs. The objections from the Convention of Royal Burghs were sufficiently strong to force Parliament to restore their privileges in 1690, but although restored in word, in practice the new towns in Scotland were encroaching upon territory of the royal burghs. The Act of Union confirmed the rights of the royal burghs, but by that time the status had little value for nothing was done to curb the growing foreign trade in the other towns and trading centres in Scotland. The traditional routes of trade were also changing as the staple ports of the Low Countries became less important and Scottish merchants turned to other areas, particularly the countries of the Baltic. In trade with such countries as Norway and Sweden, the west coast ports no longer suffered under the same disadvantages as they had in the trade to the Low Countries. Of even greater significance to the towns in the west was the opening trade to the Plantations.[1]

Another event, the union of the Parliaments, might have been expected to have a beneficial effect on Campbeltown's commerce along with other ports in the west in opening officially the colonial trade to Scottish traders. The Navigation Acts of 1660 and 1663 prohibited the colonies to trade with ports other than English ones. Illegally, Glasgow

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[1] H. Hamilton, An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, Oxford (1963), 252-3.

merchants participated in this enticing trade to a small extent before the Union so that actual Union had little immediate effect other than to step up the efforts. Since Glasgow itself did not have sufficient shipping facilities to take full advantage of this open door only using the first Clyde-built ship in 1718, obviously Campbeltown would have been even less effected by the privilege for a good few years. Gradually, however, as Glasgow merchants participated in and even reorganised the Virginia and Maryland tobacco trade, commerical benefit accrued to smaller west coasts ports.[2]

Campbeltown was, in fact, one of these "new towns" attempting to establish its trade at the end of the seventeenth century. Its appointment as a royal burgh no doubt legalised a foreign trade which had already begun on a very small scale, at least to Ireland if not further afield. With customs records not beginning until nearly mid-century, one can only surmise at the little foreign trade that would pass through the port in the early decades of the eighteenth century. There can be no doubt that the Campbeltown-Irish trade was an old established route. In the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century the most important import from Ireland was cattle. The black cattle trade was one that the 3rd Duke of Argyll, among others, tried to stop because the Irish cattle required richer pastures in England for finishing off and the value of the Kintyre cattle was depreciated by the reputation of the Irish ones mixed with them. Even at the end of the eighteenth century there are references to cattle "corrupted with Irish blood"[3] By the time the customs records begin

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[2] Ibid.

[3] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 227-8.

this trade was prohibited. Horses, however, continued to be part of the exchange and caused the customs officers great concern because they were most often landed at Dunaverty, the nearest harbour, rather than taken round to the official customs post. Local open boats crossed the narrow channel to northern Ireland with much greater ease than sailing to most Scottish ports.

The beginnings of trade to the Continental ports is not as easy to detect. Presumably little foreign trade, other than Irish, frequented the port before the eighteenth century in any case. Even after the granting of the status of royal burgh, merchants in Campbeltown would not have the means nor the connections to finance extensive voyages. The minutes of the town council indicate that in the first decades of the eighteenth century the "merchants", who were for the most part maltmen, were concerned only in a trade with the country in grain. Forestalling of the market was the most pressing concern of the magistrates judging by the frequency with which this concern is mentioned in the minutes. No concern was shown with building or improving of the quay until 1722. The meagre facilities were undoubtedly suitable for maintaining a modest trade coastwise and to Ireland in small open boats. The foreign trade routes from Campbeltown were determined to a great extent by the likely markets for the herring and malt. Town merchants imported manufactured items, timber, iron, salt, wines and fruit, from places which required imports of grain and herring. The trade was loosely organised and the supplies and demands of each year determined the routes of trade and the fortunes of the merchants.

The first record of trade to the continent was a negative one, a

a prohibition on Campbeltown ships to trade with Marseilles because of the plague.[4] This could be dismissed as a general prohibition issued to all ports at that time except that later in the year a local boat, in contravention of this rule, was burned and the crew were "stript to ye skin of their clothes and sent to the sheep isle" for forty days.[5] This occurrence at about the same time that interest was shown in the quay leads to the surmise that perhaps by about the second decade of the eighteenth century, following the example of Clydeside ports, merchants of Campbeltown were beginning to show an ability to organise and to finance more ambitious trading ventures.

Malt and herring were the basis of the port's earlier trading. These commodities, exported by sea before the creation of the royal burgh, figured importantly in the anchorage tables of the port. The first recorded minute of the town council concerned the sale of herring.[6] For each barrel of herring exported the town exacted a duty of a shilling.[7] Each boll of corn, bear, malt or sack of meal at export or import also paid a shilling duty.[8] In addition to these two items, livestock of all kinds, timber, wool, cloth and coals imported were included in the 1701 anchorage table.[9]

By 1736, the magistrates showed an increased interest in the

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[4] 25 November 1720, TCM, I.

[5] 5 December 1720, TCM, I. This would appear to be a reference to Sanda, an island off the southeast coast of the peninsula.

[6] 27 July 1700, TCM, I.

[7] 30 April 1701, TCM, I.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid. See appendix 2.

quays of the town. The foresighted chamberlain had proposed a second quay by that date.[10] Although the council showed interest, work was not actually begun until the active trading decade of the 1750's.[11] The minutes of the town council, although never dealing with the actual facts and figures of trade, give a sense of the increasing sophistication in the outlook of the towns merchants in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. The concerns for clothing for the town crier and fouling of the streets began to take a secondary place to matters of trade. The anchorage table of 1757 showed an extended list of imported and exported items. Duties were raised because

> carrying on of the keys and publick works of this harbour are attended with a very great charge and expense (compared) to our neighbouring burrows who have not so good a harbour nor much conveniency for shippings or loading goods as we have.[12]

The number of grains imported and exported increased in diversity on this table with barley, oats, wheat, rye, peas, and beans added. By this time an altogether greater variety of goods passed through Campbeltown: coals for export as well as import, barrels, hogsheads of flaxseed, wine, throch stones, grinding stones, headstones, chaldrons, brass pots and pans, rungs, and staves.[13] The council minutes contain one further anchorage table at the very end of the century with kelp, iron, hides, crockery, slates, tiles, and bricks

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[10] 2 November 1736, TCM, I.

[11] 3 September 1754, TCM, II.

[12] 4 November 1757, TCM, II.

[13] Ibid.

added.[14]

With herring to export and a surplus of grain and malt in good years, the merchants of Campbeltown lacked only the means for trading further afield. According to the anchorage table of 1701, "each ship riding within McNinian's Point and the harbour paid a fee according to size."[15] There was little evidence of the distinguishing features of the vessels and the antiquated terms complicate matters. A "ship" paid eighteen shillings. Two types of vessels, each with two top masts, a "barque" and a"barge" paid twelve shillings and nine shillings respectively. A "straicked" boat paid six shillings and a "birling" four. Presumably both of these were half-decked types of rowing boats.[16] There was little need to distinguish any further among the different types of vessels since few of them frequented the port at this time. However, by 1757, differences in the anchorage duties were determined by the tonnage of the vessels, with "yoalls" and "straicked boats" at the very bottom of the list.[17] One of the first boats mentioned in the customs records was the Betty at twenty-tons. In the 1740's the vessels were still small: the twenty-four ton Bounty; Catherine of thirty tons; and Speedwell at thirty-five tons.[19] In 1744 Campbeltown was able to boast of only four small sailing ships.[20] Vessels used

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[14] 5 September 1795, TCM, IV.

[15] 30 April 1701, TCM, I.

[16] Ibid.

[17] 4 November 1757, TCM, II.

[18] 26 March 1750, TCM, II.

[19] Campbeltown Quarterly Accounts, E 504/8/1.

[20] D. Loch, Essays on the Trade, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries of Scotland (3 vols.), Edinburgh (1778), II, 158.

for more extensive voyages were chartered from other ports - Irvine, Saltcoats, and even Liverpool. It wasnot until the 1750's with the government's encouragement of an increased tonnage bounty of thirty and later fifty shillings per ton for herring busses, that the merchants of Campbeltown began to cooperate in owning shares of larger vessels. In the aim of increasing the size of the vessels, the government fishing schemes were certainly successful in Campbeltown at least, which by 1777 had sixty-two busses of 3305 tons plus 138 vessels from other ports making their rendezvous there that year.[21]

The importance of herring throughout the eighteenth century in the trade of Campbeltown can not be overemphasised. When the government placed an embargo on the port after Culloden, great objections were raised in the town:

> as the herring fishing is the greatest branch of business pursued by this burgh and the means of supporting many families in the town who make their subsistence by the herring fishing.[22]

The 2nd Duke of Argyll, John, tried to get the fishing started in the town even before the issue of the rewarding government bounties. When he required a loan from the Crown, he thought he might get it on the lease he had with the assize dues in the herring fishing "which yields His Grace about £240 sterling per year."[23] At the end of the century, the writer of the Statistical Account of the parish could still say that "the principal trade of the place is the fishing of herring."[24]

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[21] Ibid. See also T. Pennant, Tour of Scotland (1772), I, 219.

[22] 7 August 1746, TCM, II.

[23] Chamberlain to the Duke, 10 February 1744, S.L., iii, f.17, GD 14/10.

[24] O.S.A., x, 552.

It is a natural conclusion that herring was bound to be at the centre of the ever-increasing trade in the port of Campbeltown. Although facts and figures can not be given for the first efforts of foreign trade in the town, it can be said with certainty that by mid-century the town was carrying on an active trade with the Baltic, Spain, and Portugal, as well as the longer-established trade with Ireland:

> The trade of Campbeltown has been very much upon the thriving hand for sometime bygone and there is now an evident prospect of its being much farther thriving both by the factories set up and by sea trade which brings multitudes of Highlanders not only from all parts of the country but also from other places of the Highlands.[25]

There are primarily two informative sources on the nature of the trade in Scotland in the eighteenth century which have been little studied. The quarterly customs accounts record ship, master, registration port, origin, destination, cargo, and dates of travelling. Kept by the customs officers in each port, these accounts were recorded by quarter of the year: Lady Day ending on 25 March; Midsummer, 24 June; Michaelmas, 29 September; and Christmas, 25 December. These dates were changed in 1753 to 5 January, 5 July, 10 October and 5 December.[26] One of the disadvantages of the quarterly customs accounts is that they only record overseas trade. Coastal trade, obviously a large part of the shipping in Campbeltown, remained unknown. Accuracy is always another difficulty. The accounts give the origin

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[25] 28 July 1750, Rec. Presby. Kin., CH 2/1153/4.

[26] E 504/8/1 - 8 include the years September 1743 to 1815. Only the year October 1778 to October 1779 is missing.

and destination of a cargo but do not tell the story of what happened en route and can therefore be deceiving. The lack of other details, such as the person with whom ultimate responsibility of the cargo rested, can present a hazy picture. The records do not make it clear, in fact, when the master had only a share or when he was the initiator of the trade. Most deceiving of all, can be the very facts and figures. The salaries of the officers of customs depended upon how much trade passed through their hands. They would not always be above altering figures to suit their purposes, not to mention the ordinary mistakes of bookkeeping that would be made. Neverthess, the quarterly customs accounts are useful as an indication of the traffic that passed in and out of the port and, despite the omissions, the details which are given are vital in understanding Scotland's trade during this period.

The other important source of information on the nature of the trade in the eighteenth century is the customs letter books. These books contain the correspondence between the collector in the port and the board of customs in Edinburgh. The letters from the collector to headquarters contained all matter of information, but all relevant to the particular port where the collector was stationed;[27] whereas, the letters from the board were more general pertaining to all Scottish ports.[28] The disadvantage of this source is that it is sporadic. The collector only wrote when he had a matter to bring to the attention

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[27]Collector of Customs in Campbeltown to the Board of Customs in Edinburgh, 1749-1801, Customs Letter Books, CE 82/1/1-15, S.R.O.

[28]Board of Customs in Edinburgh to Collector of Customs in Campbeltown, 1770-1802, CE 82/2/1-8. S.R.O.

of the board. Therefore, the letters are not as informative about regular trade as they are about unusual items such as smuggled cargoes or shipwrecks. The other obvious disadvantage of the letters is their personal nature, subject to bias and colouring as suited the collector at the time. The greatest disadvantage, however, is that for the port of Campbeltown the correspondence from the collector does not begin until nearly mid-century, 1749.

The first year of the quarterly customs accounts gives an indication of the routes of trade that had developed in Campbeltown by that time. A considerable amount of trading took place with the Baltic countries, Stockholm and Gothenberg in Sweden and Christiansands and Drontheim in Norway in particular. The cargoes of meal were exported in 1744 by local merchants in the Sisters on 18 February, the Daniel on 7 March, the Lyon on 20 March, and the Peggy on 23 March. Only one of these vessels, the Daniel, was registered at Campbeltown. The cargoes were all malt made from bear and big. The imported cargoes in that year were balks, tar, and iron on the Lyon on 5 June, the Daniel on 4 July, the Sisters on 6 July, the Peggy on 16 July, and the Charlotte on two occasions of 28 March and 16 July. Iron came from Stockholm and Gothenberg and the timber from Christiansands.[29] In 1744, a cargo of wine and raisins was imported from Portugal in the Defiance, a Liverpool ship, on 12 April.[30]

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[29]These cargoes are recorded by quarter and year in the customs accounts, E504/8/1. Wherever possible identification of the sailing is given by date and name of vessel in the text of this paper. After 1755, when the numbers of entries greatly increased in the accounts, identification is given by quarter only in the text.

[30]See quarters ending 24 June 1744 and 29 September 1744, E 504/8/1.

By far the most important trade in these years was the herring exported to Ireland. In 1743/4 a large quantity of coal was also exported. The trade in herring was in primarily locally-registered vessels and the coal exports in Irish boats. There were also horses imported in open boats from Belfast in the Henry on 25 January and in the Speedwell from Cushendun on the 26 June. A cargo of kelp was exported to Belfast in the Campbeltown vessel Recovery on 18 December.[31] There were no records of any salt being imported in 1743/4. In succeeding years, trade varied considerably and occasional cargoes were exported to more distant ports, but these three routes - to Norway and Sweden, to Spain and Portugal, and to Ireland - were the mainstay of Campbeltown's foreign trade by the middle of the eighteenth century. These exchanges, particularly the Baltic one, occupied the interests of the maltmen who were active in collecting the grain from the country and who played the decisive roles in regulating the trade in the acts of the town council. Each of these exchanges is worth examining in as much detail as the records allow; the Irish trade grew to such a volume that it completely overshadowed all other trade in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The Baltic Trade

The trade between Campbeltown and Norway and Sweden was somewhat surprising in its importance. Geographically, it was natural that these routes would develop to some extent, Baltic ports being more convenient than most other Continental ports. Towns in the north of Scotland, such

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[31] Ibid.

as Wick, Thurso, and Kirkwall, established a profitable trade with Norway and Sweden in the seventeenth century.[32] Merchants of Thurso and Kirkwall exported corn to Norway returning with timber and tar. Orkney carried on the trade with more enthusiasm and success apparently than Caithness.[33] Both these areas had the same ability as Kintyre in the middle of the eighteenth century to produce surplus grain in good years. This was the initial stimulation to the exchange with the corn-hungry countries of the Baltic. Caithness and Orkney also had the resource of herring which later in the eighteenth century became an equally important export, although the government legislation gave Campbeltown a decided advantage in that area. Campbeltown kept up a steady trade with the Baltic in spite of the competition from these northern ports and even with the greater distance to travel.

In 1700, Norway's population was estimated to be half a million, forty thousand of those town dwellers. For the first part of the eighteenth century, Norway was an appendage of Denmark and, as such, was used for the benefit of Danish farmers and merchants. A high tariff was imposed on all foreign grain imported into Norway while Danish grain was admitted duty-free. Christiansands, a port with which Campbeltown carried on a fairly regular trade, had four thousand inhabitants. Bergen, the largest town, had fifteen thousand, but it did not trade frequently with Campbeltown. Dronthein was an important

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[32] J.E. Donaldson, Caithness in the Eighteenth Century, Edinburgh (1938), chapter 8.

[33] See R. Mitchison, "Two Northern Ports," Scottish Studies (1968) 3, 75-82.

source for the town's timber. Norway seemed to have an insatiable appetite for grain, demanding more than Denmark could supply - some 150,000 barrels of meal in one quarter.[34] In Sweden, Gothenberg and Stockholm, were the large centres of population which could offer the valuable export of iron. Scottish ports, Campbeltown among them, in some years could fill the demands for grain, while at the same time importing the much-desired cargoes of timber and iron. At least four of the town's merchant/maltmen were trading in meal to Norway when the customs records began.

The quantities of timber in all forms - balks, deals, spars, battens, and handspaiks - and iron in the 1750's and 1760's gives some indication of the growth and prosperity in the town. Thirty-four cargoes of wood were imported in the 1750's, thirty-six in the 1760's, and thirty-one in the 1770's compared to only twenty-one in the 1780's and eight in the 1790's.[35] Cargoes of hoops and staves for barrels came most often from Ireland rather than the Baltic. Iron, the second-most important import from the Baltic, came in eight cargoes in the 1750's, eleven in the 1760's, and six in the 1770's. Very little was imported after that. The main source of iron was Stockholm, although Gothenberg and Christiansands were also suppliers. The iron imports often accounted for an exceptionally high collection in the quarterly customs accounts.[36] Tar was another product that

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[34] J.E. Donaldson, Caithness in the Eighteenth Century (1938), Chapter 8.

[35] Totals are derived from the quarterly customs accounts, E504/8/ 1 - 15. They should be used as comparative indications of the volume of trade in certain years rather than relied upon as exact figures.

[36] Examples of this are found in the debentures of the third quarters of 1744 and 1747, Q.A. E 504/8/1 and the third quarters of 1749 and 1750 and the second quarter of 1752, E 504/8/2.

occasionally came from Norway or Sweden. The nature of the imports from these northern countries suggests that the economy of Campbeltown was on the thriving hand. Timber, iron, and tar would mean that some ship-building was being attempted in the port and that these maritime countries were the suppliers of the materials. Certainly the customs records show that increasingly the trading from the town was being carried on in locally-registered boats, however modest, rather than ships from the Clyde ports, the Ayrshire coast, or even England. The demand for wood would always increase as long as barrels were needed both for exporting fish and for the slowly growing distilling industry.

When the masters were able to both export and import from the same point the journey became doubly worthwhile. When the quarterly customs accounts began, the export of surplus malt to Norway and Sweden appeared to be an established trade. On 23 April 1744, David Watson sent 220 quarters and 6 bushels of malt made from 157 quarters and 6 bushels of bear and big. William Watson in the same shipment exported 15 quarters and 6 bushels malt made from 11 quarters and 1 bushel bear and big. He also exported 33 quarters and 3 bushels of bear in the same vessel. At the same time James Robison sent 246 quarters and 6 bushels malt made from 177 bushels bear. In a second shipment that year he exported 77 quarters and 2 bushels of malt made from 55 quarters and 4 bushels of barley on the 24 June.[37]

The next year was a particularly good one for the Baltic trade with the Lyon, the Daniel, the Sisters, and the Peggy importing iron,

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[37]See 23 March 1743 and 24 June 1743, E 504/8/1.

deals, balks, and tar from Stockholm, Gothenberg, Christiansands, and Drontheim. The Charlotte made two journeys, one to Stockholm and one to Norway.[38] In 1745 only one ship, the Daniel sailed to and from Stockholm exporting malt on 7 March and importing iron and deals on 10 August. In 1747, two Campbeltown vessels, the Friends Desire and the Nisbet exported white herring to Stockholm on the 24 February and the 9 March. Two Saltcoats' vessels, the Margaret and Jean and the Unity exported malt to Norway by three Campbeltown merchants on 18 May and 1 July. The Friends Desire and the Nisbet returned from Sweden with iron and deals on 10 July and 4 August. The Unity imported deals, iron, and tar from Christiansands on 20 August. The Margaret and Jean did not return from Christiansands until the following year 1748, with deals and tar on 29 February. In that year most Campbeltown vessels sailed to Ireland with white herring but one, the James and William, set its course for Stockholm with that same cargo on 5 March. There is no record of its return cargo.[39]

The year 1749 was again profitable for the maltmen with several records of malt exports. James Robison sent two cargoes of 114 quarters and 146 quarters 5 bushels of malt to Christiansands on the Susanna of Irvine on 25 January and 3 June. On both occasions he imported from Christiansands deals, timber, and tar on 23 May and 7 August. David Watson imported iron from Stockholm on the Friends Desire on 10 July. The Irish trade almost completely dominated the trading in

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

1750, following the beginning of the herring fishing under the offer of a bounty on tonnage. Only three imported cargoes of iron and deals in the Recovery and the Peggy and Mary on 2 August and the Charlotte on 14 August came from Stockholm. There is no record of these vessels exporting to the Baltic presumably because all the available grain was being exported to Ireland or used aboard the fishing vessels.[40]

The Baltic trade continued in this manner in the 1750's, imports of deals from Christiansands and iron from Stockholm. David Watson and William Finlay imported in 1751 on 23 August and 3 September. The Peggy and Mary exported herring to Stockholm on that voyage. In 1753 there were new names in the trade with Alexander McMillan importing deals from Christiansands on board the Campbeltown on 14 May and Nathaniel McNair using the Bachelors from Bergen with deals.[41]

By 1753, the trade in the town had reached such proportions that it is difficult to record. The issue of government bounties for the herring buss fishing from 1749 and the appointment of Campbeltown as a port of rendezvous in 1755 appeared to cause sudden, rather than gradual changes in the customs records. After 1750, no malt and very little bear was exported from the town. Great quantities of provisions would be required for the busses operating out of Campbeltown and for the increased population in the town related to the fishing. This would explain why after 1749 vessels sailing to the Baltic exported herring or nothing at all. Throughout the century, Campbeltown merchants

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[40] E 504/8/2.

[41] Ibid.

continued to import from Norway and Sweden, timber, iron, and tar in one or two cargoes each year. The import trade never faltered although the grain exporting failed. It is difficult to estimate how important or how extensive the Baltic trade was, in fact. By 1749, the exchanges with Norway and Sweden were fairly equal averaging one to two exports to each country each year and three to four imported cargoes from each country. In the period 1750 to 1757, the export trade fell off sharply with only three vessels sailing to Sweden and none to Norway. However, thirteen cargoes were imported from Norway during these years compared with four from Sweden.[42]

In the period 1758 to 1785, the export trade continued to be of no importance with only a very infrequent cargo sent to Stockholm. Imported cargoes were of far more significance with more than two dozen ships importing from Norway, six in the best year, 1766. Only three cargoes were imported from Sweden in the 1760's. Swedish imports ceased completely from 1764 with only two or three cargoes exported during the rest of the century. On the other hand, imported cargoes from Norway consistently figured in the accounts.

After a slack period in the export trade to the Baltic, the exchange resumed again, if not with enthusiasm with regularity. It was almost exclusively timber from Norway which was the attraction. In 1770, four cargoes of wood were imported from Norway. In the Michaelmas quarter 1773, John McMichael and Daniel Gilchrist imported cargoes of deals from Drontheim in two local vessels, the Edinburgh and the Daniel. McMichael repeated his voyage the following year and another

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42. E 504/8/3 - 4.

local merchant, Robert Orr, imported deals from Bergen on the Bachelor in the same quarter. A cargo of deals from Drontheim was also imported by the master on the Hendry and Joseph. In the quarter ending 10 October 1776, Walter Campbell imported timber, balks, and battens in the Speedwell from Eastrays and Alexander Pickan imported deals in the Fortune from Arundale. A cargo of deals and hoops was imported from Bergen aboard the Janet by Archibald Farquharson in the midsummer quarter 1777. Later that year Donald Campbell imported staves and barrels from Warbergin Sweden on the Jeanie.[43]

A growing timber trade with other Baltic countries, particularly characterised the next decade of Campbeltown's importing. In 1777 Michaelmas quarter, Robert Maxwell and Archibald Fleming, Jr. imported deals, clapboards and staves, as well as flax and hemp from Dantzrick in Poland, on the Molly and Ann and the Jeanie. Ronald Campbell imported logs, pipe staves, wood, iron, and timber from Mennel on the Forbes. Daniel McMurchy imported the same type of cargo on the Duntroon from Prussia.[44] Archibald Fleming Jr. imported from Dantzrick again the following year on the Swan. He made the same voyage on the Swan twice and the Janet once along with John Campbell in the Jeannie in 1780. Archibald Fleming Jr. continued making a journey to Poland each year through the 1780's for timber. He also sent the Lord Frederick further afield to Archangel for tar in the quarter ending 5 January 1778. Robert Orr repeated this ambitious voyage in 1781 with the

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[43] E 504/8/5.

[44] Ibid.

Friendship.[45] Riga in Latvia was another source of wood on one occasion. The timber imports for the years 1780 to 1789 would appear to indicate a healthy economy in Campbeltown. The imports from Poland, Latvia, and Archangel supplemented the regular cargoes from Norway rather than replaced them during those years. The town appeared to be accepting an unusually large amount of wood, iron, and tar in these years.

Only during the Napoleonic wars when the government imposed restrictions upon the trade did illicit cargoes become prevalent. Masters would sail for Norway when the cocket might say Easdale, one of the few places in the west of Scotland known for timber. The collector explained that this practice was to avoid taking out importation bonds. For sailing outwards without reporting to the customhouse, the fine was a hundred pounds; for sailing without a convoy, a thousand. On that occasion the master stated in his own defence that:

> It is well-known there was not a convoy from this port or the neighbourhood to Norway since the present law began. In consequence, I was under the necessity of joining the nearest convoy which was then at the Orkneys.[46]

The regulation of sailing with a convoy was not enough to stop this established trade; in fact, the smuggling began when the war regulations

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[45] E 504/8/6. A scarcity in soft wood in Campbeltown appeared to run through the Napoleonic Wars according to A. McKerral in a letter to Father James Webb, 4 January 1956, Papers of Father James Webb.

[46] 9 May 1805, CE 82/1/18.

interfered.

It may be that the peak of the Baltic trade in Campbeltown occurred during the very first years of the customs records when the grain trade in Campbeltown was at its best for that century and herring fishing had not yet become a distraction. The chamberlain had recognised that 1747 was likely to be a good year for the barley when many would take to malting.[47] By 1757, many of the merchants in Campbeltown who were formerly maltmen had invested in the herring buss fishing.[48] Those years from 1747 to 1757 were the ones that marked the change in the Baltic trade. It was unfortunate that the records only show what is the probable peak of that exchange and not the gradual increase in the trade through the first half of the eighteenth century.

Trade with Spain and Portugal

A regular trade in Campbeltown in the middle of the eighteenth century was carried on with Portugal and Spain. This trade fits more easily than that of the Baltic countries into the pattern of exchange developing in Campbeltown when the herring fishing was prospering and it became more important as the demand for salt increased. Geography did not really favour the exchange and helps to explain why it was slow in developing and particularly vulnerable during war times. The trade would have expanded more fully than it did if the merchants had not had Irish sources of salt to rely on - salt being the basis for

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[47] "Memorial concerning the Bear from Kintyre," October 1747, S.C. 17679, f.22.

[48] Chamberlain to Lord Milton, 2 February 1758, S.C. 16703, ff. 150-1.

the entire trade with these two countries. It was Portuguese and Spanish salt which was used almost without exception in curing the herring in Campbeltown. The greatest amount of it came from Dublin and Cork, in fact, but increasingly throughout the eighteenth century when the seas were not beset with privateers and press gangs, the Campbeltown merchant adventurers sailed to the source for this much-needed commodity.

Export cargoes usually consisted of herring, or occasionally dairy products. Kintyre was the only area in Argyll able to export butter and cheese according to the county agriculturalist.[49] On occasion grains were exported, wheat and rye being mentioned. Manufactured items were exported infrequently. It is interesting that Campbeltown merchants were also able to send potatoes to Lisbon occasionally. Before 1750, there was no mention of potatoes being grown in Kintyre, but by the 1790's the peninsulawas a supplier of the Lowlands[50] and seemed to have enough to export abroad infrequently as well.

Among the ports of exchange, Lisbon was the most important. Campbeltown merchants also frequented St. Ubes, Figura, Oporto, Averio, and Faro. Other ports which were mentioned less frequently in the trade were Bilbao and Barcelona. Cadiz competed with Lisbon in importance.

When the quarterly customs accounts began there was no evidence of any significant trade to Spain and Portugal. In 1744, one cargo

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[49] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 282.

[50] O.S.A., x, 550-1. The Statistical Accounts of Renfrewshire show that by the end of the century, Kintyre was a principal source of supply for Greenock and other Clydeside towns.

of wine and raisins was imported from Faro on a Liverpool vessel the Defiance on 12 April.[51] Archibald Fleming acted as agent in handling the cargo for a merchant who was not from Campbeltown. Significantly this cargo did not even include salt, presumably because the local pans were making sufficient quantities to meet the needs at that time, in addition to what was being imported from Ireland. The next occasion of trading with Portugal did not occur until 1749 when the Anne of Irvine exported 68 quarters of wheat, 19 quarters of rye, and 5 boxes of white cotton on 2 February. The vessel returned with lemons, oranges, figs, wine, and seven hundred bushels of salt. This voyage was under consignment to local merchant, William Buchanan.[52] He sent a second cargo to Lisbon that year in the Peggy and Mary of 390 quarters bear.[53] The first record of trading to Spain was in 1750 in the Nelly of Irvine exporting salmon to Bilbao on 8 November. William Park acted as an agent for this transaction. He did the same the following year in the Anne of Irvine on 22 November. William McKinlay imported the first cargo of salt from Spain that year in the Carwhin of Leith from Cadiz on 17 June. In 1752, there was one exchange with Bilbao by John Richardson. He imported salt again as well as wine and vinegar. In 1753, the trade increased slightly with two ships sailing for Portugal and one for Spain. Only the Spanish one returned with salt. In 1754, three ships exported cargoes. The Marion sailed to Cadiz on 22 October and the Agnes to Bilbao on 27

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[51] E504/8/1.

[52] E504/8/2.

[53] Ibid. See also Campbeltown Customs Debentures, E 512/139, S.R.O.

October. Local merchants exported cod, ling, and salmon on both vessels. Only one vessel exported to Portugal, the Peggy and Mary to Lisbon on 22 April. William Buchanan exported his usual cargo of bear. The two Spanish-bound vessels returned with wine, vinegar, prunes, and walnuts as well as salt. The Peggy and Mary returned with wine and salt.[54] The exchange at this stage was occasional, suggesting that it was a casual trade which Campbeltown merchants pursued when an export cargo was available and they could finance the voyage.

After 1755, the exports to Spain and Portugal became very much the minor part of the exchange, with only an occasional cargo to Spain and none to Portugal. On the other hand, the imports were mostly salt, a small but regular trade with a cargo from each country in most years. In 1755, Dugald Stewart imported from Barcelona, which was unusual, in the Friends Desire on 5 July. Alexander McMillan brought a cargo of salt, lemons, and wine from Lisbon in the Campbeltown on 23 July. There was only one cargo at the end of 1756 in the Molly of Campbeltown with Portuguese salt from Lisbon. The one import in 1757 was from Bilbao on the Agnes on 5 July with Spanish salt and wine.[55] During this period the Campbeltown merchants were obtaining larger quantities of salt from Ireland rather than making journeys to Spain and Portugal.[56] Only William Buchanan and Alexander McMillan kept up a steady exchange to the actual source of the salt. It was also likely that during these years the trade was adversely affected by

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[54] E 504/8/2.

[55] Ibid.

[56] See below, pp. 85-89.

the war with the French. France, another source of salt although of inferior quality, was recorded in the customs accounts on September 1753, when Alexander McMillan imported salt and hoops from St. Martins.[57]

The salt trade came into its own again after 1765. In 1766, six salt cargoes were imported from Portugal and one from Spain. In 1767 and 1768, three cargoes were imported each year and six again in 1770. In the 1770's, the Portuguese imports gradually increased and reached a peak in 1775 with sixteen cargoes.[58]

Even in the 1770's when the trade was pursued with the greatest enthusiasm, little pattern could be detected. By that time in Campbeltown, the herring fishing was at its height and the requirement of salt was the greatest it had ever been. Campbeltown merchant adventurers had by that time the larger vessels to make sailing further afield easier and they no longer needed to rely upon Irish merchants completely for obtaining their supplies. In 1770, salt was imported from Figura and Bilbao by merchant adventurers, Archibald Harvie, John Campbell, Robert Orr, Charles McNeill, and Hugh Maxwell in seven cargoes.[59] In 1772, Hugh Maxwell sent the Campbeltown to Bilbao with herring and haberdines and returned with salt during the midsummer quarter. Archibald Harvie imported salt on the King George. In the quarter ending October 1772, wine and salt were imported from Lisbon in the Stonefield by John Campbell, the Ruby by Hector McNeill, and the Hope by Robert McNeill. The next year in the Michaelmas quarter again the Luck imported salt from Bilbao, the Stonefield from Averio,

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[57] E 504/8/2.

[58] E 504/8/3-5.

[59] E 504/8/4.

the Swan and the Hope from Figura, and the King George from St. Ubes. The consigning merchants were Hugh Maxwell, Ronald Campbell, Robert Orr, Robert Maxwell, and Archibald Harvie. In 1774, only one vessel exported herrings, the Stonefield to Figura in the midsummer quarter. The Hope returned in the same quarter from Figura with salt. The next quarter six cargoes were imported on the Forbes and the Swan from St. Ubes and the King George, the Hope, the Jeanie, and the John from Figura. The names of the consigning merchants were familiar ones: Robert Maxwell, Robert Orr, Archibald Harvie, Duncan Ballantine, John Campbell, and John McNair.[60]

The year the trade reached its peak, 1775, seven cargoes were imported in the quarter ending in July, six of them from St. Ubes. The Edinburgh, the King George, the Jannet, the Farquharson, the Prince of Wales and the Forbes imported cargoes for Duncan Ballantine, Archibald Harvie, Archibald Farquharson, Daniel Ballantine, Robert Maxwell, and Archibald Fleming, Jr. The Jean imported wine and salt from Oporto for John Campbell Jr. The following quarter three of these merchants, Ballantine, Maxwell, and Harvie, found it worth while to make a second journey to St. Ubes for salt with the same vessels. Ballantine and Maxwell sent a third vessel each, the Duntroon and the Hope. John McNair sent two vessels, the John and the Swan and Donald Campbell imported molasses as well as salt in the Jeannie. All of these vessels were Campbeltown-registered. The trade fell off in 1776 with only John Campbell in the Dungannon, Duncan Ballantine in the Duntroon and Alexander Johnston Jr. in the Johnston importing

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[60] E 504/8/5.

from St. Ubes in the Michaelmas quarter. Archibald Harvie with the Brothers and Archibald Fleming with the Jeannie imported salt from Lisbon. The following year the salt imports from Spain and Portugal ceased completely and only the unusual cargo of sugar was imported from Lisbon on the Peace and Plenty by Robert Orr.[61]

At the height of the trade with Spain and Portugal there appeared to be no pattern, only the great appetite for salt to meet the demands of the herring fishing. The same ten or twelve merchants appeared to make the voyage, some venturing twice in the more prosperous years. The lack of export cargoes was notable. When the trade resumed in 1783 following peace in the Americas it was not with the same pre-war enthusiasm. The herring buss fishing by that time was falling off. The same merchant adventurers took up the trade. Duncan Ballantine imported salt on the Farquharson in the midsummer quarter of 1783. Archibald Fleming Jr. imported from Oporto in the General Elliot in the next quarter. The following year an effort was made to resurrect the trade with Daniel Fleming, Robert Maxwell, and Duncan McIsaac importing salt from Lisbon on the Jannet, the Hope, and the Friends in the quarter ending in July. Later that year Daniel Ballantine and Hugh Maxwell imported on the Lady Frederick and the Betty and Nancy from Lisbon. In 1785, James Maxwell, Duncan Ballantine, Duncan McIsaac, and Duncan Brolochan made their last voyages to Portugal in the Michaelmas quarter. The following year only Daniel Ballantine continued in the trade to Lisbon on the Minerva in the first quarter of the year.[62]

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

Ireland remained the primary source of salt throughout the century for Campbeltown merchant adventurers. Even when the merchants were importing sixteen cargoes a year as in 1775 from Portugal, imports of salt from Ireland were correspondingly high. Merchant adventurers sailed to Spain and Portugal for additional cargoes of the commodity when the demand was at its highest, not as an alternative to obtaining the salt in Ireland. No other salt competed successfully with the Spanish and Portuguese variety. For a few years, 1763-1766, merchants obtained cargoes from France, as many as six in 1765.[63] This appeared to be a case of additional supplies being required in these busy years following the peace settlement with France in the colonies. The imports of these four years were isolated ones in the trading of the Campbeltown merchants.

The slump in the buss fishing in Campbeltown spelled an end to this trade to Spain and Portugal. Unlike the trade to Norway and Sweden, the buss fishing encouraged this exchange rather than distracting capital and merchants from it. Tied up as it was with the fishing after 1749, it prospered in fits and starts as the buss fishing did itself. The characteristics of the Baltic trade, its modest regularity, did not ring true of the trade with Spain and Portugal where it was a case of all or nothing on the part of the merchant adventurers.

The Irish Trade

Trade to Ireland was the most important trade in the port of Campbeltown for the whole of the eighteenth century and even the

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[63] E 504/8/3.

colonial trade was bound up with the Irish exchange. Geographically, it was natural that trade between Irish ports and Campbeltown should develop; indeed the routes of exchange existed long before the town. A ferry ran between Ireland and Dunaverty at the end of the seventeenth century before the village of Southend, or Monerua, as it was first called, had begun. The ferry went most often to Cushendun, but its port of call seemed variable depending on the cargo.[64] The trade between the two places was as natural, and in fact as frequent, as the trade between Campbeltown and ports in Scotland. The presbytery records of the seventeenth century confirmed this affinity of the two lands with frequent mentions of the exchanges of persons as well as goods.[65]

Campbeltown merchants appeared to trade with most Irish ports at one time or another in the eighteenth century. Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and Belfast were all market towns which had a commerce based upon importing raw materials with which to supply breweries, salt works, and glass and sugarhouses. Dublin and Cork became the major centres for foreign trade in the eighteenth century, but Belfast grew rapidly into the third largest port where the cotton industry developed.[66] Campbeltown's trade to Belfast became the most important one by the end of the eighteenth century, although the drawback trade

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[64] A. McKerral to Father James Webb, 13 September 1955, Papers of Father James Webb.

[65] See for example 11 June 1712, Rec.Presby.Kin., CH2/1153/2.

[66] L.M. Cullen, Anglo Irish Trade, 1660-1800, Manchester (1968), Chapter 1.

of 1765 to 1771 was channelled through Dublin and Cork. Proximity to Londonderry and Larne helped to give importance to those trading routes as with numerous other small ports on the northeast coast of Ireland such as Dundalk, Carrickfergus, Ballycastle, Cushendun, Coleraine and Newry. The similarity between the Irish and Scottish economies in the general characteristics of want of capital, shortage of raw materials, and lack of industrial development, made the trade between these two countries remarkable in the eighteenth century. Both nations were experiencing changing standards of living as the trades and manufactures prospered. Campbeltown merchants undoubtedly benefitted by their proximity to and associations with Irish ports.

Legislation also nurtured the ties between the two areas. The English navigation laws restricted Ireland's trade for most of the eighteenth century. Any items from the colonies had to be imported through British ports first. This made tobacco, rum, sugar, and cotton among the most important imports to Ireland. Campbeltown did not take part in the tobacco trade, although the merchants did play an active role handling the other three colonial products. No export to Ireland from Campbeltown was as important as herring, however, and no import as voluminous as the quantities of salt.[67] Other imports and exports, flax, meal, cattle, linen, soap, tallow, hoops, staves and coal, were interesting in their variety and informative on the state of the economy in the town at various periods.

Although Campbeltown merchants made several attempts to encourage

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67 See chapter 6 for actual figures. Herring export derived from "Third Report on Fisheries," (1785).

the growing of flax, the main source remained Ireland in the eighteenth century, ironically it was obtained from America. In 1749, twenty-five acres of lint were raised in the vicinity of the town by the influence of the chamberlain and Alexander McMillan. Two other merchants requested a tack for twenty acres to raise an additional supply for their two lint mills.[68] The efforts to establish linen manufacturing in Campbeltown in the 1750's led to an increased demand for the flax.[69] Two to four cargoes were imported each year from the beginning of the records until the outbreak of the American revolution.[70] An example of such a cargo was Archibald Wyllie's eight hogsheads of American flaxseed imported from Belfast on the Archibald and Margaret on 4 January 1748 and on the Mary on 30 January. William Buchanan, proprietor of one of the lint mills, imported twenty hogsheads from Belfast on the Recovery on 19 April and John Nisbet imported the same quantity from Larne in an open boat on 12 April. These three merchants continued their interests in this trade. In 1746, John Alexander importing from Larne on the Janet on 17 March and Archibald McMillan on the Greyhound from Belfast on 4 April joined the trade. By 1748, an exceptionally large amount of flax was imported entirely from Belfast by four other merchants, John Stirling, Francis Farquharson, James Finlay, and John Greenlees. These vessels exported herring and returned with flax.[71] In 1749, the Providence sailed to Newry with herring on 2 February and returned

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[68] William Buchanan to Lord Milton, 20 September 1749, S.C. Box 407, f.1.

[69] "Note on dimensions of housing at Limecraigs" (1954), S.C. 17679, ff. 184-5.

[70] E 504/8/1 - 5.

[71] E 504/8/1.

on 3 April from Londonderry with flax at the risk of merchant Archibald Campbell. The Greyhound sailed to Belfast with eighty quarters of bear on 17 January and returned from Ballycastle with flax on 15 April under John Greenlees. The Bachelor also imported flax from Ballycastle on 19 April in an open boat from Larne on 8 May. The pattern appeared to be that three or four vessels exporting herring or grain returned with flax, usually from Larne, Ballycastle, or Belfast, most often in the quarter ending 5 April after delivering their catches of herring. A great number of merchants appeared to carry this cargo at various times, but William Buchanan, a promoter of the linen industry in the town, had the strongest hand in the trade.[72]

After 1752, meal became an import from Ireland in years of high prices when an Act of Parliament suspended the prohibition on importing grain. Oats and oatmeal constituted the greatest part of the imports in 1752 with over forty cargoes imported.[73] Although Kintyre had shown an ability to export grain in the 1740's, particularly after the good harvest of 1747, the growing population of the town in the 1750's required much greater quantities than previously. Since Campbeltown exported malt and bear in the same years that oatmeal was imported from Ireland it was an indication that the sale and export of malt abroad was sufficiently profitable to sustain the industry with most of Kintyre's lands in bear and barley. The cargoes came from Drogheda, Belfast, Londonderry, Newry, and Dundalk. Significantly, in the midst of this convoy of vessels importing oatmeal, William Buchanan imported

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[72] E 504/8/2.

[73] Ibid.

his usual cargo of flax from Belfast on the Thistle on 24 February. The following year the enthusiasm abated somewhat and only nine cargoes were imported followed by fifteen in 1754.[74] The trade was sporadic after that depending upon the government's prohibition with significant amounts imported in 1758 and 1763 and none in the other years.[75] From 1765 to 1773 the trade increased again with twenty to thirty cargoes in some years.[76] The fact that these were years of great activity on the town's quays with the drawback trade to Ireland at its height supports the view that these supplies were required to feed an unusually large population in Campbeltown. For the large numbers of vessels carrying products from the colonies to Ireland during these years oatmeal was an appropriate cargo to bring back, when the government lifted the prohibition. The sudden changes in the corn prices which opened and closed the ports to imports of meal was a real hardship to merchants attempting to establish a regular trade and unable to sustain such risk.[77] On more than one occasion[78] mobs clashed with customs officers over a cargo of Irish grain at the quay: the popular idea of a fair price for meal and the government's idea did not always coincide. In such an area where the local produce went to commercially-minded maltmen/merchants the hardship for the people could be very real. Before 1700 cattle had been the most important Irish export to Scotland. In 1667/8 the imports of Irish

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[74] Ibid.

[75] E 504/8/3.

[76] E 504/8/3-4.

[77] L.M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade (1968), 121.

[78] See for example the account of the incident of the Freemason, Collector to Board, 12 March 1770, CE 82/1/2.

cattle into Scotland was forbidden. Although the prohibition was lifted periodically, it stood for most of the eighteenth century until its final repeal in 1776.[79] This trade was frowned upon by the county agriculturalist who considered it detrimental to the quality of Kintyre's cattle,[80] and by the customs officers who considered it a "nuisance".[81] Traders were required to obtain a dispatch for stock they were carrying and to land in the presence of a customs officer paying the appropriate shore duties. Because the greatest part of the trade was carried out on both coasts in isolated bays and creeks which provided the shortest and most convenient crossings, these requirements were burdensome. Small open boats landed when the tide was right, hence the numerous complaints by the customs officers and the difficulty in assessing the volume and value of the trade:

> In order to evade the Irish duty due on exportation of cows from Ireland of three shillings a head exporters seldom declare in their dispatches more than one-fourth of the number they actually bring to this country, and frequently export them from Ireland without any dispatches at all.[82]

The cattle trade was one outwith the operations of the Campbeltown merchants. It was carried on for the most part in small boats by "traders."

Various other items were infrequent imports from Ireland. Horses, linen, soap, tallow, leather, skins, and brickstones were often

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[79] L.M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade (1968), 33.

[80] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 227-8.

[81] Collector to Board, 20 August 1796, CE 82/1/13.

[82] Collector to Board, 8 August 1798, CE 82/1/14.

mentioned. Hoops, staves, and barrels were particularly common imports, but even timber and deals from Norway were imported via Ireland on numerous occasions. In fact, there was not much that did not come from Ireland at least once during the course of trading with Campbeltown in the eighteenth century. The customs quarterly accounts indicate that the exporting of coal to Ireland might have been a healthy trade in the first half of the eighteenth century. Ireland imported considerable amounts of coal, and the Ayrshire coast became important in supplying this commodity. The years the records began 1743/4 three vessels sailed to Belfast and Larne with a total of thirty-five tons of coal in the second quarter of the year. In the third quarter, nine cargoes of seventy-four tons were exported. Linen was sent to Larne for bleaching on numerous occasions in the 1750's despite the efforts of the town provost to establish a bleachgreen in Campbeltown, in 1751.[83] Other cloth was imported most often from Larne and linen from Dublin. The Irish hoops and staves usually came from Dublin or Cork. Timber and deals were most often from Dublin, although they were imported from Carrickfergus upon occasion.

The imports of one year, 1754/5, are representative of the variety of the trading with Ireland. In the first quarter, which actually included the vessels sailing from 10 October 1754 to 5 January 1755, three local vessels imported goods. The Isobel and the Speedwell brought linen bleached in Larne. The Tryall imported Spanish salt and hoops and staves from Dublin.[84] In the second quarter which included sailing until the 5 April, Spanish salt was imported on the

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[83] William Buchanan, Provost, to Lord Milton, 4 November 1751, S.C. 16673, ff. 103-4.

[84] 5 January 1755, E 504/8/2.

Peggy and Mary and the Charlotte from Cork. Imported from Newry were cattle and horses on the Margaret and on the Jean, American flaxseed. Bleached linen was again imported on the Betty from Larne. Only one vessel did not come from Ireland, the Argyll importing staves and flax from Philadelphia. This quarter was an exceptionally active one for exporting herring to Dublin.[85] In the months ending 5 July two cargoes of Spanish salt were imported from Cork on the Charlotte and the Peggy and Mary. One vessel, the Friends Desire imported salt and wine from Barcelona. An open boat from Irvine brought coal.[86] In the last quarter ending 10 October considerable quantities of salt were again imported. The Charlotte imported Spanish salt from Cork and from Dublin, while the Argyll, the Campbeltown, and the Friends Desire sailed to Lisbon for lemons and wine as well as salt. Three vessels returned from the Baltic the Peggy and Mary, the Ranger and the Farquharson, with balks, battens, deals, oars, and iron.[87]

The import that dominated the trading in 1755 and in all other years in the eighteenth century from Ireland was salt. Because it was so closely tied up with the export of herring, it is almost impossible to examine the trade of one without the other. The main source of salt was Dublin, but it was imported from many other Irish ports as well. The Irish laws which permitted English rock salt to be imported allowed them to produce their own salt more successfully than the Scots could.[88] Related imports, such as Irish salted beef, butter, and pork, became increasingly important throughout the century, particularly as these

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[85] 5 April, 1755, ibid.

[86] 5 July 1755, ibid.

[87] 10 October 1755, ibid.

[88] See chapt. 6.

articles were useful as stores on the herring busses. These products were cheaper and of better quality than the Scottish salted items. There is no evidence to show that Campbeltown merchants imported Irish salt for curing the herring; Portuguese and Spanish salt through Irish trading companies was always the predominant amount of the trade.

The imports of salt from Ireland were moderate until about 1753. The Irish trade in salt existed alongside the trade to Spain and Portugal for the same commodity; neither source was used to the exclusion of the other. In 1745, the first record of this trade, William McKinlay and Archibald Fleming imported a cargo of Portuguese salt from Dublin on the Charlotte on 29 July. In 1747, two such cargoes were imported by John Nisbet and William Buchanan. On 29 February 1748 the Friends Desire sailed to Dublin under Neil Marquis with white herring for export to the colonies from the year's fishing. It returned on 5 September with Portuguese salt to pursue the fishing that year.[89] The following year the same vessel imported iron from Stockholm on 10 July.[90] Other ships followed this similarly disjointed course of sailing where and when supplies and demands dictated. Even by 1750, the herring fishing was establishing itself in the town to such an extent that it dictated all other trade.

The amount of this trade with Ireland reached such proportions that it is difficult to calculate or to discern a pattern. In fact, there appeared to be no pattern, only a great interest in sending the white herring to Ireland for export and in importing salt to carry on

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89 E 504/8/1.

90 E 504/8/2.

the industry in subsequent years. Interspersed with this dominant exchange were occasional voyages to the Baltic, Spain, or Portugal. In the record of the courses of three vessels, selected at random, in a given period, 1749 to 1757, no pattern to the commerce is discernable, but the dominance of the Irish interests makes itself apparent.

On 14 February 1750 the Peggy and Mary imported Spanish salt from Cork and later in the year in August, iron from Stockholm. The vessel followed the herring fishing that year and exported white herring to Cork in the first quarter of 1751 which meant before the 5 January. There is no record of the vessel importing salt that year from Ireland but a cargo of iron was brought from Stockholm again on 26 August. On 26 September, the Peggy and Mary imported salt from France. The vessel joined the herring fishing once again and exported the catch to Cork. On 22 April 1752, the Peggy and Mary sailed for Lisbon with bear and obtained the cargo of salt imported on 8 July. On 20 June, Norwegian deals were imported. The vessel exported a herring catch to Ireland again at the end of 1752. When the vessel can next be accounted for she was bringing Spanish salt from Cork in the second quarter of 1755. She imported a similar cargo in the next quarter and participated in the fishing again that year.

The vessel Campbeltown imported Spanish salt from Cork on 10 July 1750, went to the fishing grounds later in the year, and exported herring to Cork in January 1751. On 15 February, she returned to Campbeltown with linen from Dublin and sailed to Cork for the supply of Spanish salt she imported on 12 July. She followed the herring

fishing again that year. After taking a cargo of herring to Dublin she imported deals from Christiansands on 20 June 1753. She imported Spanish salt from Cork on 5 September and followed the fishing again. The following year she imported Spanish salt from Dublin. The Campbeltown sailed for the fishing again. In 1755, she imported the salt direct from Lisbon in the midsummer quarter. In 1756, she returned to Cork for salt and hoops and staves in the midsummer quarter.

The Charlotte imported Spanish salt from Dublin on 13 September 1750, and exported white herring to Dublin in February 1751. Her activities were unknown for the next couple of years, other than her participating in the white herring fishing and subsequent exports to Ireland. Then again she returned to port with Norwegian deals on 6 July 1754. After exporting her cargo of herring to Cork, she imported Spanish salt from that port in the second quarter of 1755. She made two more journeys in the next two quarters to Cork again for Spanish salt, but there is no record of her carrying an outward cargo. She participated in the herring fishing, exported her cargo to Dublin, and then in the midsummer quarter imported flax from Dublin. In the Michaelmas quarter she imported Portuguese salt from Cork.[91]

These vessels, all local boats, show the trade of Campbeltown carrying on around the herring fishing. The vessels obtained salt for the year's fishing, usually in the midsummer quarter, from Dublin or Cork

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[91]The courses of these vessels have been followed by quarter in the customs accounts, E 504/8/2, to the detail the records allow. Obviously coastwise trading is not accounted for.

- always Spanish or Portuguese salt. Occasionally, there was an opportunity to import a second cargo in some years or alternatively a cargo of flax. Less frequently, a cargo from Norway or a cargo of salt directly from Lisbon interrupted the pattern. The vessels sailed for the fishing grounds sometime in the autumn of the year to export their cargo to an Irish port, usually Cork or Dublin at the end of the year, in January or February. None of these vessels was registered for the tonnage bounty payments so their activities were not curtailed by the regulation of spending three full months at the fishing grounds.

Another method of analysing the hold that Ireland had on Campbeltown trade in the eighteenth century is to examine the trading endeavour of one merchant, in this case one of the most active ones, in a given period. The years 1758 to 1764 have been selected because they follow on from the ones just detailed. Also by that time Campbeltown merchants, encouraged by the government's increased tonnage bounties for herring busses, were beginning to take part in the fishing under the government's scheme, despite the regulations. Conforming to the restriction of three full months at the fishing ground did not appear an undue hardship to Campbeltown merchant adventurers at this stage. In 1765, the nature of the trade changed again abruptly with the advent of the drawback trade with Ireland.

In the first quarter of 1758, Robert Orr exported candles made locally on the Amelia to St. Kitts. The next quarter he imported two cargoes. The one from Larne on the Nancy contained flax and the one from Arundell on the Providence, deals and oars. The next two years were quiet ones for him, only importing linen to Larne on the Symbestus

and exporting twenty tons of coal to Drogheda on the Fair Clark in the Michaelmas quarter. Two years of active trading followed. In January 1761, herring were exported to Ireland in several cargoes. Deals were imported from Gothenberg and butter, cattle, hoops, flax, and tobacco imported in various cargoes from Ireland. In the Lady Day quarter, malt and herring were exported to Ireland. On a shared vessel, the Isabella, with Daniel Fleming, Orr exported linen, leather, hardware, butter, and beef to Jamaica in April. The Kirkland imported linen from Larne in July. The first half of 1762, Orr was busy exporting herring to Ireland on the Duncanson to Drogheda and on the Cathcart to Dublin. In August, he pursued his fishing interests once again by importing salt on the Charming Jean from Lisbon. The only cargo not related to the fishing that year was the linen exported on the Winds to Larne for bleaching in October. The year 1763 was similarly dominated by fishing interests. Herring were exported to Ireland on the Flora Ann and the Betty to Dublin and the Endeavour to Cork. Cod were sent to Barcelona on the Prosperity in February. Salt was imported from Lisbon along with lemons on the Endeavour in August. The year 1764 appeared to be the one in which Orr made his fortune for he exported the herring directly to the colonies. The Jean and Betty sailed for St. Christophers in February and the Argyll for Jamaica in March. The salt that year was imported from St. Martins on the Charlotte in July. In 1765, the pattern changed completely when Robert Orr began importing numerous cargoes from the colonies and re-exporting the rum to Ireland.[92]

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[92] Again, the activities of Orr are followed in as much detail as the accounts, E504/8/3, allow. See below, the drawback trade, for his activities from 1765 to 1772.

It would appear from the trading of the four vessels and the efforts of one merchant adventurer, chosen as exemplary of others in the quarterly customs accounts, that Campbeltown merchant adventurers were involved in a pattern of trade that had established itself in the port in the 1750's.[93] The herring fishing dictated the exchanges, but it can not be said that the fishing was a deterrent to other trades; in fact, it greatly stimulated the Irish exchange with more variety than ever in the imports from that country. The exchange with Spain and Portugal was also encouraged by the demand for salt. Even the Baltic trade with the economy of Campbeltown on the thriving hand did not suffer, for an increasing amount of timber and iron was demanded in the growing town. The trades to these other places had always been casual, carried on when conditions suited. The instances of imports and exports did not cease when the Irish exchange increased, but remained a steady, casual trade.

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[93] No attempt has been made here to assess the quantity of the trade by using totals of cargoes imported and exported each year since the herring exports alone were of a quantity as to make such an assessment both difficult and unreliable. See chapter 4 for a more quantitative evaluation, relying upon J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785) and "Third Report on the Fisheries"(1785).

CHAPTER 3

THE PERIOD OF COLONIAL TRADE

After 1707 the door was open for Scotland to trade with the colonies and partake of the lucrative business of re-exporting colonial products to other European countries. The English navigation laws forbidding trade to the colonies except in British ships made Ireland and other European nations dependent on British merchants for tobacco, rum, sugar, and cotton. Liverpool and Bristol thrived on the trade they established with the colonies. After 1707, gradually Scottish merchants began to gain the means of making a profit in this business. The Glasgow tobacco lords became wealthy and powerful in organising more efficient travelling and exchange of goods than their English counterparts. By their ability to undersell the Bristol and Liverpool merchants they took the lion's share of the re-export market in tobacco to Holland, France, Ireland, and other European countries.[1]

In Campbeltown the trade to the Americas was bound up with the Irish trade in an interesting relationship. The town's merchants developed their exchange with the West Indies particularly on behalf of the Irish trading companies. By the middle of the century the re-export trade to Ireland was becoming a major concern in Scotland. The re-exports to Ireland doubled between 1759 and 1764 and they doubled again by 1770. By that date the re-exports to Ireland from Scotland were one-fifth of the total from Britain as a whole.[2]

Campbeltown was in the forefront of the colonial trade at this time in the eighteenth century. Initially, the exports to the West

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[1] See H. Hamilton, Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (1963), 250 et.seq.

[2] L.M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade (1968), 76.

Indies consisted primarily of Irish products such as soap, tallow, linen, and small manufactured items. The imports were rum, sugar, cotton, and tobacco. In 1745, William McKinlay, Campbeltown provost, acted as an agent for Johnston Legg and Company of Belfast. He sent tallow and soap on the Prince Charles to Jamaica on 30 April, but there is no record of a return cargo. In the next year Francis Farquharson, in the forefront of Campbeltown's trading at that time, followed exactly the same course for the same company. The Prince Charles came in from Belfast on 25 October with candles, tallow, soap, and shoes and sailed immediately for Kingston.[3] At this time these cargoes were occasional, not really a usual part of the town's trade. McKinlay and Farquharson were two active and prosperous merchants judging by their other trading ventures at the time.

In the 1750's the number of cargoes to the American colonies increased. Imports at this time were sugar, flax, rice, staves, and even turpentine. Exports were linen, manufactured items, originating in Ireland, or passengers from the Highlands. In 1751, the same McKinlay imported a cargo of rice from South Carolina on the Welcome on 24 October. In 1752, on the Friendly Thomas, George Walker sent on 23 July to Cape Fear, North Carolina, four bales or 4,687 yards of cloth "half linen" at seven to eight pence a yard and five copper stills for a local merchant who had emigrated to America. Again in 1753, cargoes of linen, tartans, handkerchiefs, threads,and aprons, were sent to Pennsylvania by William Campbell. This ship returned in midsummer 1754 with sixty-one hogsheads of flaxseed and oak. The same vessel was sent out again in summer 1755 as a passenger ship

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[3] E 504/8/1.

by Farquharson. In that year also Daniel Fleming and Robert Orr became involved in the trade for the first time with a cargo of staves and flax imported from Philadelphia on the Argyll in the first quarter. In 1755, Farquharson sent another cargo of tallow to Jamaica in midsummer. The only colonial cargo in 1756 was salvaged from a shipwreck of rum from New York in the first quarter and the goods were reshipped. In 1757, two cargoes were exported in midsummer quarter. One to Barbadoes consisted of shoes and clothes and the other to St. Christophers was white herring and clothes. The Barbadoes vessel under consignment to Farquharson returned in the Michaelmas quarter with a cargo of sugar.[4]

The same merchants continued to carry on the exchange with about one cargo per year. The only year tobacco was imported, in the first quarter 1758, it was on behalf of an Irish company. The other occasion that tobacco came to the port was the result of a ship stranded in Hachrihanish Bay in the first quarter of 1761. That year the colonial trade increased with Orr sending two ships to Jamaica in the midsummer quarter with linen from Ireland, leather, hardware, butter, and beef. By 1764, the trade was certainly becoming significant with two ships sailing for St. Christophers and two to Jamaica in the first quarter, all with white herring and manufactured items. Charles McNeill joined Orr and Farquharson. The imports remained the minor side of the exchange, however, with only one vessel from North Carolina importing for an Irish company in that same quarter.[5]

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[4]Ibid., E 504/8/2.

[5]Ibid., E 504/8/3.

It would be easy to over-emphasise these few ventures to the Plantations on behalf of Campbeltown merchants. At most three men were involved, three who appeared to have an unusual amount of capital behind them for Campbeltown merchants. Farquharson and McNeill were both landowners as well. The few sailings suggest that the risks were great and that the majority of Campbeltown merchants were too timid to attempt the exchange until they could be assured of success. The trade was divided between the West Indian and the North American colonies equally at this time. Also noteworthy is the fact that the trade from Campbeltown was almost entirely of exports. Presumably other Scottish merchants chartered the vessels for the voyage back with tobacco. These voyages to the colonies from 1745 to 1764 were isolated incidents superfluous to the usual trade in salt and herring at the port; significantly, however, the trading was on the increase with fewer years separating the voyages until after 1764 when there were several voyages each year. The assurance that other Campbeltown merchant adventurers required came in 1765 when Irish trading companies had cause to back Scottish merchants in the transatlantic ventures.

Irish Drawback Trade - 1765 to 1772

For a period of seven years from 1765 to 1772, the West Indian trade was a significant part of the Campbeltown trade. The trade to the Plantations from Campbeltown was connected with Irish companies at this time and owed its existence to the law. The fact that it was in some ways artificial, purely a product of legislation, explains why its inception was so sudden in 1765, rather than the usual gradual

increase in an economic venture. The ending in 1772 was equally abrupt for the same reason - changes in legislation. The cargoes were always the same, with rum the mainstay of the exchange although it might be accompanied by sugar or in a rare instance cotton. Significantly tobacco was never a part of the trade. This lucrative business that began so suddenly for Campbeltown merchants was known as a drawback trade because the high import duties paid on such items as rum and sugar could be literally "drawn back" when the goods were re-exported to another country. By 1756, the value of the re-export trade from Scotland to Ireland had become one of the most valuable branches of the economy. From 1764 to 1771 the value of the re-export of rum alone increased four hundred per cent.[6] Generally this trade consisted largely of rum on Irish account entered in the Scottish ports and paying the duties. When the goods were shipped to an Irish port, the debenture or repayment was made by the government.

Even before this period, as would be expected considering the proximity of the two countries, an occasional cargo of rum from the West Indies was landed in Campbeltown and the high import duties paid. A few days later the cargo was re-exported to a point in Ireland. Irish merchants, although they could not import colonial rum directly, could import it through an English or Scottish port paying an import duty considerably lower than the Scottish merchant was required to pay. Ironically, the Irish merchant could then send the rum back to Scotland legally paying a duty that still allowed a profit or smuggle the cargo illegally and win an even greater profit. The reason for the trade

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[6] L.M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade (1968), 76.

beginning in earnest in Scottish ports in 1765 was the purchase of the Isle of Man by the government in that year. Prior to that, the Isle was independent and prospered under advantageously low customs duties. Irish and British trading companies used the island as a depot in the colonial trade. Large cargoes from the Plantations were landed on the island and later sent - or smuggled - into Ireland or Britain in smaller vessels. In 1765, however, this all came to an end when the Duke of Atholl sold the rights of the island to the British Parliament for £70,000.[7] Presumably the government felt that the loss of revenue on illegal imports justified such expense in the purchase of the Isle. Trading companies, both Irish and Scottish, immediately sought new ways to organise their colonial trade and Scottish merchants who already traded through Irish companies expanded their operations to include this lucrative line of business. Campbeltown merchants participated in the trade from the start.

Occasional cargoes from the West Indies were imported in Campbeltown until 1765 when the trade became more than casual. The peak years were 1769/1770 with thirty-two re-exported rum cargoes to Ireland and eleven sugar re-exports. In 1771, fourteen cargoes were re-exported and in 1772, nine.[8] That year the law changed and only one rum re-export was listed in the quarter ending 5 April 1773, presumably a carry-over from the previous years. An account of one transaction explains the procedure. Robert Orr, the Campbeltown

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[7] 5 Geo.III, c. 26 in Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade (1968), 148.

[8] In examining the drawback trade for the years 1764 to 1778, the primary source has been the customs debentures, E 512/139-144, since they record in more detail the transactions of the re-export cargo than the customs quarterly accounts for the corresponding years, E 504/8/3-6. There is a lapse of time between the importation of a cargo from the colonies and the award of and consequent recording of the debenture upon re-export. The lapse in time is most evident in the Christmas quarter when vessels re-exporting after 10 October are recorded in the quarter ending 5 January in the following year.

merchant most involved as an "agent" in the initial trade, imported 164 puncheons of rum (17,846 gallons) on the Sally from Antigua on 10 August 1768 along with Colin McNeill. McNeill paid the duty and then reshipped the goods fourteen days later to Newry. McNeill took an oath

> that the goods mentioned in this debenture really and truly were exported on the account and risque of Arthur Hughes of Newry, merchant, for whom the deponent acted by commission and had the direction of the voyage and not landed, nor intended to be relanded in any part of Great Britain, Isle of Man, or the Islands of Farro.[9]

The full quantity was reshipped on 24 August and landed at Newry on 8 October. When the board of customs received the certificate from McNeill and the certificate from Hughes to confirm that the goods were landed in Newry, then the debenture was paid. In this case £356-18-9½ was drawn back on 28 November.[10]

In 1766, three such cargoes were re-exported by Robert Orr in partnership with William Finlay, Edward Orr, and Alexander McAlester, for the Irish trading companies, one in each of the first three quarters. Two of the cargoes were from Antigua and one from Barbadoes. Two of the Irish companies were in Londonderry and one in Belfast. The next year, 1767, the trade increased but showed the same pattern. Robert Orr had a hand in every cargo that was transhipped. The two in the quarter ending 5 January (which were actually re-exported at the end of 1766) were rum from Antigua re-exported to Londonderry and Newry. The cargoes re-exported in the quarter ending 5 April were rum from Barbadoes along with sugar. One cargo was bound for Belfast and the other for

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[9] 5 January 1769, B 512/141.

[10] Ibid.

Londonderry.[11]

The re-exports increased to twelve rum cargoes and two sugar cargoes in 1768. In the first quarter five were cargoes of rum from Antigua and one cargo of sugar from New York. William Finlay and Charles McNeill joined Orr in acting for the Londonderry, Newry, and Belfact companies. In the second quarter, Orr re-exported rum from St. Kitts. The following quarter Charles McNeill re-exported rum from Barbadoes. In the last quarter three of the cargoes came from New York, two from Antigua and St. Kitts and one from Jamaica. Patrick Campbell was the new name in the list of agents.[12] In 1769, the re-exports of rum increased to fifteen cargoes and in 1770, seventeen, six of those at the end of the previous year. Sugar re-exports numbered four in 1769 and seven in 1770, three of those at the end of 1769, making the total eleven.[13] However, the sugar had yet to reach its peak.

This was the most active period in the drawback trade, but the number of merchants involved were still only five. Robert Orr maintained the greatest interest in the business handling seventeen cargoes. His efforts were always as agent on behalf of an Irish company, most often Greggs and Cunningham of Belfast. However, Charles McNeill who handled an equal number of cargoes those years, often re-exported the goods "for himself" or "on his own account." Patrick Campbell and Alexander McAlester also re-exported cargoes for Charles McNeill and Company, as well as for the other companies. Eleven cargoes in those two years were re-exported for McNeill. Ronald Campbell, another

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[11]Campbeltown Customs Debentures, E512/140, S.R.O.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid., E 512/141.

Campbeltown merchant who only became involved in the drawback trade in 1770, started initially by handling cargoes on his own account with one in 1770 and two the following year. Other of the Irish companies sound suspiciously like Campbeltown merchants involved in the buss fishing at that time, James Harvie and James McVicar in particular, but there is not sufficient evidence to identify them positively and to clarify this dubious relationship between agent and company, possibly because this very lack of evidence suited the purpose of the merchants.[14] In the final years of the drawback trade, Campbeltown merchants more often were assuming the risks for the re-export cargoes and handling the business on their own account rather than for Irish companies. The rewards would belong to the local merchants as well. Four of the fourteen rum re-export cargoes in 1771 were on accounts of Campbeltown men.[15] Charles McNeill, Patrick Campbell, John Campbell and Ronald Campbell carried on the business in their own names; whereas Robert Orr remained an agent for Irish companies throughout the years of the drawback trade.

The rum re-exports ended as abruptly as they had begun by the change in the customs law. The loophole in the law that allowed rum to be imported from Britain to Ireland at half the poundage charged on importation to Great Britain was removed in 1772.[16] The export of rum, sugar, or cotton from Ireland to England was forbidden. Certificates of proper landings of goods were demanded as before, but control by customs officers was tightened. In Scotland the trade

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[14] E 512/139 - 144.

[15] E 512/142.

[16] 11 and 12 Geo. III c.6. in L.M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade (1968), 151.

ceased abruptly as rum exports fell from 759,621 gallons in 1771 to 68,808 gallons in 1772.[17] This reflected the fall in the whole of the re-export trade. In Campbeltown the rum trade stopped completely with only one cargo in 1773 and none thereafter. However, other re-export cargoes did not cease but, in fact, increased for several years after 1773.

The re-export trade in sugar after 1772 was primarily handled by two merchants, Archibald Farquharson and Robert Orr again. Farquharson was the son of Francis who had traded with the colonies in the 1750's and was the first local merchant to outfit a herring buss under the government bounties. John Campbell also continued his interests in the re-export trade. In 1773, Orr and Farquharson re-exported three cargoes of sugar from St. Christophers and St. Croix for James Forbes and Company of Dublin. This was the first occasion that cargoes were sent to Dublin. John Campbell and Company also exported sugar for the Dublin firm of Simon Blacks and Murray. The seven sugar cargoes in 1774 were all re-exported by Farquharson and Orr to either Dublin or Cork.[18] The nine cargoes in 1775 were the same, although Daniel and Archibald Fleming Jr. shared the cargoes of two vessels from the West Indies with the other partnership. Four cargoes of sugar were re-exported in 1776, two of them to Belfast for the first time.[19] This trade diminished after the start of the American revolution. In the first quarter of 1777 one cargo of sugar was re-exported from Antigua and Barbadoes. In the second quarter Orr imported a cargo from Lisbon and he did the same again in the first

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[17] Ibid.

[18] E 512/143.

[19] Ibid., E 512/144.

quarter of 1778. In the Michaelmas quarter the last cargo of sugar and turpentine was imported from Dominica.[20]

Significantly, the re-export trade in tobacco which was particularly important in the Clyde from the 1750's to 1773, had no place in Campbeltown's trading. The Clyde supplied more tobacco to Irish ports than all the English ports combined, and appeared to have a monopoly in Scotland. Campbeltown merchants dealt in tobacco only on rare occasions of stranded vessels or shipwrecks.

The imports of rum and sugar for Campbeltown merchants were always from the West Indies, primarily the British colonies of Antigua and Barbadoes, but also St. Kitts, Jamaica, Grenada, and St. Christophers. Only the occasional cargo of rum was imported from New York. After 1773, sugar was imported almost without exception from the Dutch colonies of St. Thomas and St. Croix with the rare exception being a vessel from Antigua. In 1777, the cargoes were from Antigua and Barbadoes, supplemented by one via Lisbon. The last year, Dominica was the source for the first time along with one from Lisbon again.

The majority of re-exporting was-in the records at least - to Belfast companies, fourteen listed during these years.[21] Londonderry had seven companies and Newry two. These three Irish towns were the only ones to which Campbeltown merchants exported in the early days of the trade. In 1769, one of the two Larne companies received a cargo. In 1770, a cargo was re-exported to one of the three Cork companies. Until 1770 however, it was an exceptional cargo that sailed other than

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Information derived from customs debentures for these years, E512/139 - 144. Each debenture records the company on whose account the goods were re-exported.

to Belfast. Remarkably, merchants in Dublin were not involved at all in the rum re-export trade from the town, but after the law changed in 1772 and the rum trade ceased, the Dublin companies had an active part in the sugar re-export trade from the port. Eleven Dublin companies imported through Campbeltown agents for the short period 1773 to 1776. Presumably, Dublin's interest in refining sugar made the collection of as much sugar as possible in the unsettled days before the American revolution a prime objective.

The nature of the drawback trade, an artificial exchange created and supported by legislation, made it particularly vulnerable to illegal trading. In fact, it has been suggested that the trade was almost entirely illicit with Irish trading companies used to affect fictitious landings.[22] The collector wrote to the board of the enormous frauds to the revenue of vessels landing goods in Scotland when the cockets said that the goods were for re-export to Ireland.[23] That complaint, coming in 1771, when the greatest number of vessels were re-exporting rum and sugar to Ireland, appeared to be directed at the drawback trade. Fraudulent certificates of fictitious landings were a simple business in days when merchants considered themselves "free traders" rather than smugglers as such. From 1766 to 1773 the correspondence of the collector of customs in Campbeltown to the board was characterised by reports of incidents of illegal importations. The Neptune imported 29,500 gallons rum for Charles McNeill from St. Kitts on 8 December 1768.[24]

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[22] This is the view taken by L.M. Cullen in Anglo-Irish Trade (1968), 76.

[23] Collector to Board, 20 March 1771, CE 82/1/2.

[24] E 504/8/4.

This was the first occasion of a Campbeltown merchant handling the business for himself when he re-exported it for Larne and Belfast in the quarter ending 5 April 1769.[25] The Neptune had a particularly active year in 1769 for she arrived in port again in the quarter ending 10 October from St. Kitts with rum and sugar. She sailed for Belfast a few days later with her re-export cargo.[26] Although this departure was recorded in the quarterly accounts, there is no record of the transactions in the corresponding customs debentures presumably because the drawback was never awarded. Nine casks and one puncheon of rum were seized from the Neptune on 28 November that year in an attempted landing on Sanda.[27] Sanda later became well-known as a depot for the Breckenridges of Red Bay in Ireland carrying on their smuggling.[28] It would appear that this was one of the earlier organised efforts to evade high customs duties on rum by landing cargoes on Sanda to be later smuggled into Kintyre in smaller quantities. The goods could then be taken to Campbeltown over land. Such was probably the instance of the four casks of rum seized ten miles from the town in 1771.[29]

The numbers of other smuggling incidents suggest that this was not an insignificant part of the trade. For example, in the quarter ending 5 July 1770, Robert Orr re-exported sugar and rum from Antigua for Gregg and Cunningham of Belfast in the Betty Craig.[30] The duties on the sugar were later drawn back,[31] but the rum was apparently seized

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[25] Customs Debentures, E 512/141.

[26] Quarterly Accounts, E 504/8/4.

[27] Collector to Board, 6 December 1769, CE 82/1/2.

[28] See for example Collector to Board, 18 March 1789, CE 82/1/9; 3 August 1791, CE 82/1/11; and 17 November 1791, CE 82/1/11. See also reference in L.M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade (1968), 153.

[29] Collector to Board, 14 January 1771, CE 82/1/2.

[30] Quarterly Accounts, E 504/8/4.

[31] Customs Debentures, E 512/142.

attempting to be relanded in Kintyre.[32] A seizure of one hogshead of rum from the Jackie occurred later that month.[33] Yet there is no record of her with a cargo of rum at this time in any of the customs records. Certainly no quantitative evaluation of the illicit trade - or the legal trade for that matter - could be reliable because of this element of the unknown. These incidents of detecting relandings of exported cargoes casts doubt on the actual destinations of the other cargoes supposedly re-exported for Ireland, and even on the very existence of the Irish trading companies themselves.

The figures for the collection of customs revenue in the port of Campbeltown in the years 1765 to 1777 show a great contrast to other years. These figures should be viewed warily, however, for many reasons. Since most of the rum cargoes and all of the sugar cargoes, on paper at least, were on Irish account and the duty was, in fact, drawn back, these figures were not truly representative of the customs revenue in the port since some of the income was paid out again in debenture. What they do make very apparent, however, is the volume of trading in the port during this period. This in itself meant prosperity to Campbeltown merchants able to capitalise upon the increased activity at the quays. In 1764, only £254-10-09 was collected in customs in the port. In 1765, the collection rose to £787-15-09 and in 1766, a remarkable £3310-12. In 1771, the peak year £8738 was collected, largely because of the rum imports. In 1772, there was a sharp drop. In 1773, because of the large amount of sugar re-exported the collection rose again. By 1778, only £391-12- 0 was taken in customs of the port.[34]

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[32] Collector to board, 4 December 1770, CE 82/1/2.

[33] Collector to board, 29 December 1770, ibid.

[34] These figures are taken from the customs quarterly accounts, E 504/8/3 - 6.

These inflated customs collections spelled a brief period of opportunity for town merchants.

By the 1780's, Scotland's trade in colonial goods with Ireland was a small one and its wane contrasted with a growth in exports of goods of domestic origin to Ireland. In Campbeltown, however, the re-export trade ceased altogether after 1777. First and foremost the change in the Irish customs laws in 1772 and secondly the outbreak of war in the Americas in 1776 burst this balloon of re-export colonial trade in Campbeltown. The collector of customs in the town blamed the war for the decline:

> Since 1776 importations have in great measure failed, and this is the failure which we believe falls to be ascribed to the unhappy Rebellion of the Americas, least we do not know of any other good cause to assign for it.[35]

He also explained the situation in the final years of the colonial trade when only sugar was being re-exported by Farquharson and Orr:

> We do not think it (the decline in trade) to be so much due to any change or failure in what can properly be called the trade of this port, for the number of vessels belonging to it are rather increased than diminished. In the years 1773, 1774, 1775, and 1776, we had frequent importations of foreign brown muscavado sugars. The importations were not in vessels belonging to the port. The ships were consigned to merchants here in order to have the cargoes entered with us, and again exported to Ireland but as the old subsidy was all retained and none of it repaid on exportation, our receipts were thereby increased by a considerable amount on that branch. Since 1776 these importations have in great measure failed.[36]

The period of the drawback trading, was really an embellishment on the usual routes of trade, as the collector explained.

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[35]Collector to board, 30 May 1778, CE 82/1/4.

[36]Collector to board, 7 May 1778, ibid.

The great concern for improvements of the quay from 1766 suggests increased interest in the quayside among Campbeltown merchants and magistrates. In 1767, the town council borrowed seventy pounds sterling to improve the quays.[37] In 1772, they sent a petition which was successful to the Convention of Royal Burghs for aid in rebuilding and improving.[38] Two later ones, the first in 1777 for building a quay "for loading and unloading vessels up to three hundred tons"[39] and the second in 1778, were refused on the grounds that

> however useful these piers may be to the Burgh of Campbeltown, the boroughs are very little interested.[40]

By that time the trade in the port was beginning to diminish. This active period could be dismissed as a temporary phase, a white elephant, that because of its brevity was little worth pursuing in the first place and that efforts should have been directed into more long-lasting industries. However, the fact that even three merchants became involved in the business on their own accounts by 1770, independent of the Irish companies, indicated that local merchants had attained a position by which they could profit by such an opportunity.

The drawback trade stimulated the imports from the colonies generally. Along with the rum and sugar, other items were often imported. Wood, staves, potash, cotton, indigo, and turpentine were among the items

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[37] 7 July 1764, TCM, II.

[38] Minute of 16 July 1772 in T. Hunter (ed.), Extracts from the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland (1759 - 1779), 444.

[39] 10 July 1777, ibid., 561.

[40] 15 July, 1778, ibid., 579.

brought from the Plantations. In 1767, a trade with Newfoundland was begun. In the quarter ending 10 October, the Nonfield imported oil and blubber from Newfoundland. Orr imported oil on the Endeavour and the Largie in the Christmas quarter. He and James Ryburn exported cloth and linen to Newfoundland on the Peggy and Tartan, in the quarter ending 5 April 1768. The Peggy returned with oil in the Michaelmas quarter. The Largie returned with deals from Bergen. Robert Stewart exported herring to Newfoundland on the Dungannon in quarter ending 5 January 1770, presumably with the objective of obtaining oil although there is no record of the ship's return. Other imports came from New York, North Carolina and New Brunswick.[41]

The trade in exports to the West Indies and North America was also stimulated by the drawback trade. The primary export to the colonies was always salted herring and increased trade further encouraged that already thriving industry in Campbeltown. Cargoes of linen and cloth were sent to the Indies on vessels which returned with rum, such as the voyage of the Jackie to Antigua in the quarter ending 10 October 1768 with linen manufactures, cloth and thread exported by two merchants involved in the drawback trade, Colin McNeill and John Campbell. She returned at the beginning of 1769 with rum from Antigua and St. Kitts on the account for Charles McNeill. The Helen exported clothing to Cape Fear in the Michaelmas quarter 1769 for Colin McNeill and returned in 1770 with rum from New York which Patrick Campbell re-exported to Larne on his own account in the quarter ending 5 January 1771.[42] The Annabella with cotton and linen manufactures

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[41] E 504/8/4.

[42] E 512/142.

sailed for Nova Scotia in the Michaelmas quarter 1770 for Robert Stewart and the Edinburgh sailed to North Carolina at the same time with refined sugar, linen, stockings, and shoes for Alexander McAlester.[43] However, there was no record of their returning to Campbeltown. As late as the last quarter ending 5 January 1776, the John and Matty sailed for Antigua with linen. Daniel and Archibald Fleming imported the linen along with two thousand barrel staves from Belfast and re-exported the linen for Oliver Birch of Antigua.[44]

The years of the drawback trade were also characterised by increased trading with the Continent. Campbeltown merchants imported rice from North America on several occasions on behalf of Irish companies and re-exported it to Hamburg, Amsterdam and Rotterdam.[45] The trade with Spain and Portugal increased during this period with three to six cargoes imported most years. The trade to the Baltic also prospered with as many as six cargoes of imports from Norway in each of the two best years of trading.

The overall exchange with all Irish ports was prospering with an ever-increasing number of cargoes of herring exported there and an ever-increasing variety of goods imported. The herring buss merchant adventurers had their best years at the beginning of the 1770's with the greatest number of busses collecting in the port in 1771.[46] From the customs accounts it would appear that the trade to the colonies generally, and the drawback trade in particular which channelled

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[43] E 504/8/4.

[44] Ibid., E 504/8/5.

[45] See for example quarter ending 5 July 1770 in Q.A., E 504/8/4.

[46] See chapter 4.

re-exports through the port of Campbeltown had a beneficial effect on the trade and economy generally in the town. Far from detracting men and capital from other perhaps more long-lasting industries, it would appear that the colonial trade encouraged Campbeltown merchants to expand their interests. The drawback trade was the domain of a few merchants but the effects were felt by many. Rather than decrying the efforts to trade with the colonies because of the transient nature of the business, these attempts should rather be deemed praiseworthy for the beneficial effects they had at the time.

It takes a leap of imagination in the twentieth century to place proper importance on sea travel for the merchants of the eighteenth century. The disadvantages Campbeltown suffers under today in its remoteness from main markets were not true of that century when the town lay on the main trading routes to the Atlantic:

> On account of the accidental situation of this loch, so favourable to the reception of vessels of every description it happens that, besides those that are bound directly for this port, great numbers from various ports of England, Scotland, and Ireland are almost daily put in here by contrary winds, gales or some other cause, besides several that arrive from foreign ports, and many from Glasgow, Port Glasgow and Greenock, with drawback, bounty and warehouse goods.[47]

It would appear that by that date, 1786, vessels bound for the West Indies or the United States, although the number of these was greatly diminished in Scotland in general, sailed to Campbeltown primarily by "contrary winds . . . . or other cause" rather than for trading purposes. The period of colonial trade in Campbeltown stands out as an unusual era of opportunity for the town merchants.

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[47]Collector to board, 29 October 1786, CE 82/1/8.

CHAPTER 4

DEVELOPMENT OF THE HERRING BUSS FISHING

The herring buss fishing in Scotland is well-documented, mostly on account of the 1785-6 parliamentary investigation.[1] John Knox, London bookseller, was perhaps the foremost authority on the buss fishing generally in Europe and particularly as it was run in Scotland. His first intensive tour of the Highlands was made in 1764 when the fishing was already underway with enthusiasm. He put his study to paper in 1784, publishing A View of the British Empire.[2] In 1786, his Observations on the Northern Fisheries provided a second detailed informative account of the buss scheme at that time.[3] His strong prejudice in favour of the merchant adventurers was evident in both works. A second informant, James Anderson, at the request of the House investigating committee, made an extensive journey through the Highlands in order to form his report, An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland.[4] The reports of 1785-6 are a most valuable source of information on the buss fishing with the testimonies of various customsmen or merchant adventurers adding to the knowledge of Knox and Anderson. James Maxwell, Campbeltown's representative and lobbyist for the merchant adventurers, gave a considerable amount

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[1] "Third Report on the State of the British Fisheries," (1785), P.P. Reports from Committees (1803), x.

[2] John Knox, A View of the British Empire, especially Scotland (2 vols.), 3rd edition, London (1785).

[3] John Knox, Observations on the Northern Fisheries, London (1786).

[4] James Anderson, An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland, Edinburgh (1785).

of information about the actual running of the bounty system in Campbeltown.[5]

Compared to other fishing, pickled herring became the most important fishing industry in Britain. Southern English ports developed the fishing to some extent centering their activities around Yarmouth. In Scotland the industry developed around the Clyde. Eastern English ports carried on other white fishing for cod, ling and hake, such fishing being done with lines rather than nets. Competition from other countries, particularly Holland, made the white herring the branch of the industry that received government attention. The competition came from all the countries located along the migratory path of the herring. Anytime after the 1 June, the herring might be found in the Bressay Sound. By 15 July, they were on both coasts of Britain until October. That was the best season for "reddening" or pickling. During the winter fishing, after October until January, the fish were in the lochs and bays of Ireland.[6] The migratory path of the herring meant that the fish were convenient for the countries of the Baltic, Holland, Britain, and Ireland.

The summer and winter fishings followed different techniques. In summer the fish were small and said to be more delicate in flavour. Twelve hundred to two thousand could be packed in a barrel; whereas in winter the larger herring could fill a barrel with six to eight hundred. Summer herring were more favoured in Continental markets but were said to dissolve in warm climates; the winter or late

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[5] "Third Report on Fisheries" (1785), 104 et. seq.

[6] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), II, 375-6.

herring suited "poorer tradesmen and the labouring part of mankind at home, and the negroes in the West Indies Islands."[7] The Dutch primarily followed the summer herring and they monopolised the continental trade. Other countries, Scotland in particular, followed the West Indian market.[8]

Other competition came from the Baltic countries. Sweden began to develop the industry to some extent about the middle of the eighteenth century. They fished about two hundred thousand barrels yearly, not at sea but among the rocks. Initially, they went for the early fish but they increasingly sought out winter ones. Like Scotland they exported winter herring to Ireland to be re-exported to the West Indies; therefore they were a major rival in that market. The oil of the herring was more important in Sweden than in other countries.[9] The Swedes were unable to compete with the Dutch because their method of curing herring was so inferior. Their herring sold in Stockholm for a farthing each while a Dutch one could bring a penny.[10] The Swedish boats were not hampered by as many restrictions as the Scottish ones so they could export their fish at half the price the Scottish fishermen could afford to do.[11]

Norway and Denmark, to a lesser extent, competed with the Scots. The Norwegian shores were good for the early fish but even

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[7] "Third Report on Fisheries" (1785), 244

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., 314.

[10] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), I, 280.

[11] Ibid., II, 373.

> The Danes though they are masters of Norway, frequent the Scottish shores in the fishing season to the number of thirty or forty busses.[12]

- probably due to the turbulence of the Norwegian Sea. France developed a winter herring fishing to some extent, from October for four to six weeks. Her market was her own West Indian colonies.[13] Although the fishing was neglected in Ireland until the 1760's, it became a formidable rival of Scotland in the latter half of the eighteenth century.[14] The Irish fishermen frequented the same ground as the Scots and under similar conditions; and they shared the same market in the West Indies. But the Irish had the advantage of easier sources of salt and they could afford to sell their herring cheaper than the Scots. These factors made Campbeltown merchant fishermen show more concern about the Irish competition than any other. They were rivals for the most important West Indian market.[15]

The government directed most of their attentions to the Dutch fishermen and would like to have seen Britain threaten Holland's position in the Continental market. The Dutch also sailed in busses, long, round two-masted vessels. They were fifty to seventy tons and comparatively comfortable even in rough seas. Knox describes each vessel as equipped with fifty nets, each fifty fathoms long and seven and a half feet deep. The buss rope on which the whole fleet of nets depended was a hundred and twenty fathoms long and seven and a half

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[12] Ibid., I, 280.

[13] Ibid., II, 373.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

feet deep. There were two such ropes.[16] The buss was accompanied by jaggers, small open boats which would ply between the port and the site of the fishing carrying provisions out and returning with the herring which would then be repacked eight days after they were first salted. The Dutch busses began their fishing in June and ended earlier than the Scottish ones.[17]

Knox, and other observers, attributed much of the superiority of the Dutch herring to their care taken in curing and packing. Curers and packers were regulated by a great number of restrictions. No smoking was allowed during the whole process; daunting was not permitted; the Dutch had to sieve the brine; they were restricted to the use of good quality salt and even that had to be refined again; they sorted carefully for size and quality; the whole curing process was done within three weeks of catching and thirty-four gallon barrels, half-an-inch thick in the stave, were used only once.[18]

For Britain, particularly Scotland, to become a serious rival of Holland's in the fish market required a considerable investment in equipment as well as the expense of sustaining the cost of a journey and the wages of the greater number of men required on a buss than on an open boat. The government bounty aimed to offset the outlay and to enable more men to participate in the buss fishing. A secondary aim of the bounty was to encourage the buss fishery as a "nursery for all other trades."[19] For example, Knox claimed that during the

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[16] Ibid., I, 272.

[17] "Second Report on Fisheries" (1785) in S. Lambert (ed.), House of Commons Sessional Papers, LIII, 4.

[18] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), I, 254-270.

[19] Ibid., I, 241.

American war nearly a thousand men from Campbeltown served in the Royal Navy, a number he attributed to the experience gained in the buss fishing.[20]

The history of buss fishing in Campbeltown began with the establishment of the Free British Fishery Society in 1749 and was of limited duration, lasting only as long as the subsidy. Campbeltown was in the forefront of buss fishing in Scotland and the town's success or failure under successive government schemes shows the progress of this type of fishing generally in Scotland. In many respects the buss fishing remained throughout its short history an artificial type of trade, totally dependent upon a subsidy; the rewards for Campbeltown, at the very centre of the industry, were very real. From 1749, however, until the end of the tonnage bounties for busses, ran the contrary argument of barrel bounties, more clearly rewards for actually catching fish. The Campbeltown merchant adventurers, the defenders of the buss bounties, opposed any changes to this lucrative scheme until they were finally shouted down in the 1790's.

Campbeltown under the Society of the Free British Fishery: 1749-1757.

The history of fishing bounties in Scotland began with the establishment of the Free British Fishery Society in 1749. That year thirty shillings per ton was offered to all vessels between twenty and eighty tons that fulfilled the requirements of buss fishing. In

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[20]Ibid., II, 368.

addition, for each barrel of herring exported, the fisherman was allowed a bounty of two shillings eight pence. To reap these benefits the busses were required to sail to the rendezvous, at either Campbeltown or Bressay Sound, to spend three months at the fishing ground, to fish solely for herring and to use no nets before 1 August.[21]

This first stage of the government bounty scheme was noted in Campbeltown for the lack of local participation. Failure characterised the first scheme generally in the west of Scotland:

> Few Individuals took the benefit of the Law and little appears to have been done, even by the Society.[22]

Different critics attributed the overall failure to varying causes. Knox said it failed for want of a market.[23] Others criticised the unwieldy organisation of thirty-two members in the society. The rigid provisions for outfitting and sailing were a handicap and a deterrent. In Campbeltown the main reason for failure appears to have been the initial cost of building and outfitting the buss. The scheme had no provision for an initial capital advancement to persons attempting to acquire busses and the cost of outfitting a buss can be seen to be prohibitive when individual items are listed. Knox gave estimates for building a forty-seven ton vessel and a sixty-ton one:[24]

	47 tons	60 tons
Hull	£270	£345
Joiner and pumpmaker's accounts	18-10	21-10
Ropework, sails, rigging, cables	135	160
Smith's account for anchors	20-10	22-10

[21] Act 23 Geo.II, c.24

[22] "Third Report on Fisheries" (1785), 232.

[23] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), II, 377.

[24] Ibid., I, 230.

	47 tons	60 tons
Mast, boom, and other spars	20	25
Sailmaker's accounts, compasses, cabin furniture	8	8-10
Fishing boats	15 (for two)	22-10 (for three)
Total	£502	£623

The expense of outfitting the buss was an additional consideration:[25]

	47 tons	60 tons
Nets	£41	£78- 5
Buoys and bow stocks	5- 4	4
Tailing	2- 5	4- 4
Hoops and spare headings	1-15	not quoted
Coals	1-18	not quoted
Victualling at 8 pence per day for 3 months with 11 men or 14 men respectively	33	42-10
Wages for 3 months at 27 shillings per man per month	45-11	62-13
Spirits	4-10	5
Stock for voyage	8-10	not quoted
Bond and clearing out fees	1-12-6	not quoted
Salt (either 240 bushels at 2 shillings 2 pence per bushel or 462 bushels at 1 shilling 11 pence per bushel		
Barrels (240 or 384 at 50 shillings per "last" or dozen	50	80
Total	£221- 5-6	£322- 7-0

Finally, even the expense of fees had to be taken into account when considering the initial capital outlay:[26]

For a buss of 64 tons

To the Collector and Comptroller	£1-10- 0
Bounty bond	7- 6
Duty on provisions	2-11
Landwaiter and surveyor	10- 6
Coast coquet to Greenock with herring	2- 6
Certificate of salt being landed	1- 6
Coast bond	7- 6
Landwaiter	2- 6
Upstairs fee	4- 6

[25] Ibid., I, 230; "Third Report on Fisheries" (1785), 161.

[26] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), I, 224-5.

On a cargo of 300 barrels at 2 pence each	£2-10- 0
Salt bond on export	7- 6
Certificate for cancelling	1- 6
Settling salt accounts annually	10- 6
Cumbia lighthouse	5- 6
Greenwich hospital	1- 8- 0
Total	£8-12- 5

There was also the cost of getting the bounty from Edinburgh which could be, and very often was, a lengthy process. Few men in Campbeltown had capital of this amount in the early 1750's. The first and only participant under this initial scheme was Francis Farquharson, a landowner who had developed extensive trading interests in the 1740's and showed himself the most adventurous of Campbeltown merchants during this period in both extent and variety of trade. He used a forty-eight ton vessel built in Ayr for the winter fishing.[27]

The lack of participation of the Campbeltown men in the initial years of the government bounty scheme is not to say that they were not fishing for and exporting herring from the port. Herring was always in the anchorage table of the town council minutes with strangers paying two herring out of each hundred "whair evir the fishing be" as well as a shilling in shore dues. Each herring boat also had to pay three shillings "if it be tyme of fishing if the herring be taken betwixt poynt of Caradell and Southwards" for each voyage or six shillings Scots for the whole herring fishing season.[28] A steady trade in herring to the Baltic, particularly Stockholm, had established itself by the time the customs records began.[29] Herring was also

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[27] Collector to Board, 11 February 1754, CE 82/1/1.

[28] 30 April 1701, TCM, I.

[29] 24 January 1745, Henry; 18 February 1745, Sisters; 7 March 1745, Daniel. All three entries in E 504/8/1.

sent to Portugal before bounties were issued to Scottish vessels.[30] The herring exports to Ireland were a large and steady trade by 1749.[31] Neither were Campbeltown men fishing for herring to the exclusion of other types in the pre-bounty days. On several occasions in the 1740's cod and ling were exported, primarily to Ireland.[32] Interest in fishing was certainly not lacking in Campbeltown in the first half of the eighteenth century and at the time of the formation of the Free British Fishing Society; however, Campbeltown merchants did not have the vessels sufficiently large and well-equipped to qualify for the lucrative government rewards in this early stage of buss fishing. The restrictions on the use of the busses were no doubt a further deterrent to merchants who had developed a varied trade from season to season, of which the herring fishing was just one part.

The figures for the numbers of barrels of herring exported from each port during the years 1751 to 1756 show Campbeltown regularly among the top three exporters in Scotland.[33] From 1751 to 1754 there was little to distinguish between Campbeltown, Greenock, Port Glasgow, Ayr, and Shetland. However, in 1755, the year of Campbeltown's appointment as a point of rendezvous the number of Campbeltown exports soared to a record 24, 436 barrels, six times the amount exported by any other port.[34] Similarly, the following year Campbeltown

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[30] 21 January 1749, Anne, E 504/8/2.

[31] Cargoes too numerous to mention. See for example quarter 25 March 1748, E 504/8/2.

[32] For example: 4 March 1747, Janet; 23 January 1748, Catherine; E 504/8/1. 28 July 1749, Stirling; 22 September, Fisher wherry, E 504/8/2.

[33] See appendix 5.

[34] Port Greenock, second in exports, had 4,675 barrels.

exported 13,528 barrels with Greenock, the nearest rival, following behind at 9,072. Exports in all the ports rose in these two successful years at the herring fishing.

These figures did not spell real success for the port of Campbeltown, however, in this first stage of the bounty. The greatest number of these barrels were exported in vessels other than locally-owned ones and legislation, rather than real prosperity, was accountable for the high export figures. In 1756, Campbeltown vessels accounted for much less than half the catch exported from the port; the following year about fifty per cent of the exports brought profit to local vessels.[35] The direction of the herring trade through Campbeltown after 1755 undoubtedly had beneficial effects on the economy of the town. The population of the town rose and all related tradesmen, such as coopers particularly, benefitted. Although actual participation in the buss scheme by Campbeltown merchants was limited during this first stage, after 1755 the incentives were beginning to look more enticing.

Second Period of the Buss Fishery: 1757-1771

The year 1757 marked the end of the Society of the Free British Fishery as such, but the bounties continued. The government offered fifty shillings per ton for each vessel that fulfilled the regulations

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[35] A.R. Bigwood, "Campbeltown Buss Fishery, 1750-1800," (M.L. thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1970), Table 3. See appendix 5.

for the herring buss fishing. The regulations for fitting out were somewhat lessened with cancellation of the obligation of the busses to have two fleets of nets. The vessels were also allowed to be used for other purposes at different times of the year.[36] The scheme, however, still did not run smoothly with the war with the French retarding the progress of the Free British Fishery Society until 1761 when there was a gradual increase in the number of busses generally in Scotland from 17 in 1761 to 261 in 1766.[37] Another problem under this scheme was a characteristic failure by the government to pay the bounties. In 1766, when merchant adventurers returned from the fishing grounds, they found that no bounties were paid. From 1766 to 1771, the bounties were ill-paid in Scotland and Scottish busses sailed to England where payment was more regular. The revenue allotted to the Society was insufficient to cover the payments to the large number of vessels that participated. An act in 1771 reduced the bounty once again to the original thirty shillings per ton, but provided for more regular payment chargeable to the customs and excise of the country.[38] Throughout this period there was conflict between the fishermen of smaller open boats unable to qualify for the lucrative bounties and the prosperous merchant adventurers who appeared to hold all the advantages. The differences between these two groups, and the virtual disappearance of the smaller local fishermen was one of the factors which eventually led to an

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[36] "Third Report on Fisheries" (1785), 232.

[37] Figures from "An Account of the Number of Vessels Fitted out in Scotland," in J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), II, 377 et seq.

[38] "Third Report on Fisheries" (1785),232.

overall investigation into the bounty system in 1785.

This second stage of the government-supported fishing in Campbeltown was marked by increased local interest and participation in the busses. The enticement of the increased tonnage bounty and the less obvious incentive of the lessened regulations regarding the outfitting and use of the busses was sufficient encouragement to local merchants to invest their capital. The initial cost of outfitting the buss was somewhat reduced by the changed restrictions. For example, after 1757, it was not necessary to have two sets of nets.[39] The initial expense could be justified by the greater reward of fifty shillings per ton. Campbeltown merchants managed to meet the initial obstacle of building and outfitting a buss by co-operating in the purchasing and running of the vessel with each owner claiming a share of the profits.

From 1757 to 1770, Campbeltown and Greenock were the top two exporters of barrels of herring. The amount exported reached a peak in 1765. The following year, the year the bounties failed to materialise, the figure dropped slightly. In 1767, as one would expect when confidence had been broken by the previous year's failure, the numbers of barrels exported was only half of the 1765 figures. The exports increased again in the latter part of the 1760's and Campbeltown reached an all-time peak for the amount exported from any port in Scotland in 1770 with 16,175 barrels.[40] Local merchant adventurers showed great enthusiasm throughout this period in the ownership and operation of the busses. The average vessel

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[39] Ibid.

[40] See appendix 5.

owned by Campbeltown men was about forty tons, although they covered the entire range from the twenty-ton Robert to the eighty-ton Duchess of Hamilton.[41] In 1764/5 fifty-six locally-owned busses were fitted out for the September to January season.[42]

Campbeltown, in fact, thrived under the buss fishery. Law and geography combined to make Campbeltown the most successful port in the west of Scotland. Travellers to Campbeltown commented upon the effect that the town's appointment as a place of rendezvous had upon the economy:

> This town in fact was created by the fishing; for it was appointed the place of the rendezvous for the busses; two hundred and sixty have been in the harbour at once, but their number declines since the ill-payment of the bounty.[43]

Knox, of course, attributed all good in the town to the herring buss fishing:

> The traveller being arrived at Campbeltown will perceive the good effects of the herring buss fishing in the appearance of the town and harbour.[44]

This appointment as a rendezvous gave Campbeltown considerable advantages. Vessels from other ports had the expense and inconvenience of a sail to Campbeltown to be examined for proper fitting-out before the fishing. Merchant adventurers complained of this costly and time-consuming procedure but it continued nevertheless.[45] Owners had to pay

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[41] 1764/5, Customs Cash Vouchers, E 508/58/9.

[42] Ibid. See also Table 21 in A.R. Bigwood, "Campbeltown Buss Fishery," (1970).

[43] T. Pennant, Tour of Scotland, London (1772), I, 219.

[44] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), II, 601.

[45] Ibid., I, 208-9.

wages and to provide for provisions while vessels might be held in Campbeltown by adverse winds. A further difficulty was that one wind took a ship to the Mull while the opposite wind would take the vessel around the headland; therefore, Campbeltown was not the easiest bay to sail out from. After 1778, adventurers were allowed to use Stranraer as an alternative to Campbeltown, but this change did not really help boats from Port Glasgow or Greenock because Stranraer was even further out of the way.[46]

Campbeltown was well-situated to participate in the herring fishing on the direct route of vessels sailing from the Clyde to the primary fishing grounds. Within the major headland the Mull of Kintyre passed all the shipping of the Clyde to and from the West Highlands, the Hebrides, and the Atlantic. The position of the Mull with "no lands between this Cape and America" made it particularly difficult to navigate.[47] One observer commented upon the ferocity of the winds:

> Had it not been composed of solid rock (the Mull of Kintyre) must have yielded long since to those raging elements.[48]

Vessels sailing from Campbeltown were often forced to seek shelter in Irish harbours.[49] Campbeltown had this distinct geographic advantage over all other West Highland ports of lying within this difficult point of navigation.[50]

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[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., I, 212.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Collector to Board, 1 February 1777, CE 82/1/4.

[50] "Third Report on Fisheries" (1785), 160.

Compared to other west coast Scottish ports, particularly in Ayrshire, in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, Campbeltown appeared to attain some measure of economic success. Knox observed that no other town had any manufactures, trade, fisheries, or shipping, other than coal. There was no other town of seven thousand inhabitants on the coast.[51] Stranraer, a town that attempted the herring fishery, had abandoned it by 1784. Maybole had little or no trade. The trade in Ayr was on the decline. Irvine had only a few busses and a small coal trade.[52] Previous to the Union, the Ayrshire coast had some traffic and shipping:

> Some of these ports were respectable when Greenock, Rothesay and Campbeltown were composed of a few thatched cottages, and when Port Glasgow had no existence.[53]

Since that time Ayrshire resorted to illicit practices, according to Knox, while Rothesay, Greenock, Port Glasgow, and Campbeltown had developed a "thriving commerce with Europe and America."[54] He cited Campbeltown as an example of prosperity when in a year such as 1772, the town sent out 95 busses for the herring fishing with 1235 seamen. He recommended that the Solway Firth should do the same instead of smuggling.[55] The prejudice of Knox in favour of the towns of the merchant adventurers must be recognised, but other observers as well commented on Campbeltown's comparative economic success during

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[51] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), II, 551.

[52] Ibid., II, 548.

[53] Ibid., II, 538.

[54] Ibid., II, 539.

[55] Ibid.

these years when the herring buss fishing was at its height. In 1748, the town had but four sailing vessels: in 1771, the town's merchant adventurers outfitted sixty-two busses of 3305 tons. That year 138 busses of other ports made the rendezvous at Campbeltown.[56] The buss fishing took hold in Campbeltown after the increase in the tonnage bounty to fifty shillings. Although the payments could not always be relied upon, the incentives were sufficient to stimulate interest in the town. The years 1757 to 1771 were characterised by an increasing enthusiasm in this economic venture in Campbeltown.

The Height of the Buss Fishing in Campbeltown: 1771-1786

By 1771, despite the reduction of the bounty payment to thirty shillings per ton, the merchant adventurers had a happy hold on the herring fishing in the west of Scotland. The rewards to the government were never quite what had been anticipated, however. Although the merchant adventurers prospered individually, it was to be questioned how much good the tonnage bounty scheme was doing for the country and the industry generally. The initial objective of the government had been to challenge the Dutch position in the Continental markets; in this objective this scheme was an obvious failure. It was also debatable to what extent the bounties encouraged the actual fishing. The rewards went to the merchant adventurer with the largest vessel, rather than to the one who exported the most barrels

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[56] David Loch, Essays on the Trade, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries of Scotland (3 vols.), Edinburgh (1778), II, 158.

of herring or the one who pursued the actual occupation of fishing with the most industry and skill. On more than one occasion it was charged that the busses were fitted out "for the sole purpose of catching, not the fish, but the bounty.[57]

The controversy over tonnage payments versus barrel payments prompted, to a large extent, the reports on the fisheries in 1785. Opponents of the buss bounties argued that small open boats would cost less, would employ more men, and that in such a system the money would go to the actual workers with two fishermen and one master usually on each boat. The smaller boats could also fish for cod and ling and could operate all season long. It was felt by many that the buss fishing was not having real success in any case.[58]

The arguments to continue the bounty system came from the large powerful lobby of buss fishermen who claimed that small boats could not carry on the fishing in winter on Scottish seas when the market was at its best. A barrel bounty instead of a tonnage bounty meant that in a bad season when fishermen were most in need of aid there was none. It was argued that the government regained its expenditure through the lucrative trade with the West Indies. Finally, it was claimed that the small boats did not train able and experienced seamen. Instead of changing from tonnage to barrel payments the adventurers made other suggestions to help improve the fishing. The proposals of John Knox were the most concrete and fore-sighted perhaps. He proposed revising the salt duties and regulations which were such a

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[57] Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (2 vols.), The World Classics Edition, London (1904), II,21.

[58] "Third Report on Fisheries" (1785), 104.

hindrance to all fishermen. He also advocated the establishment of fishing villages throughout the west of Scotland. He pressed for stricter regulations for packing and sorting to improve the quality and the reputation of the exported herring. The desire was also expressed to prohibit the Irish importing foreign herring for re-export to the West Indies.[59]

The Campbeltown evidence from these years of the third stage indicated an almost total domination of the local herring fishing by the busses. Multiple ownership of the busses, whichwas such an important factor in the success of the herring fishing in the town, had continued. The majority of busses appeared to be owned by two to three men, although the shares might vary considerably in size according to one study made of the ownership of the Campbeltown busses from 1764 to 1795.[60] The study, using a sampling of the customs cash vouchers for the years 1764, 1775, 1784, and 1795, showed that only a very small number of boats had a single owner. Two were owned by one merchant in 1764 increasing to five in 1795. Most vessels had three, four, or five shareholders. The years covered by the study showed a trend towards an increasing number of shareholders in each boat. In 1795, ten boats had six shareholders; three had seven; one had eight; and one had ten. Many of the merchant adventurers followed a policy of not putting all the eggs in one basket and they had shares in several busses. The merchant adventurers were the elite of the community, the men of capital. A majority were

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[59] Ibid., 76

[60] A.R. Bigwood; "Campbeltown Buss Fishery" (1970), Table 6. Figures derived from information in the customs cash vouchers.

merchants or shipmasters or a combination of the two. For example, from 1760 to 1764, fifty-eight were merchants, thirteen merchants/shipmasters, twenty-two shipmasters, and there were a small number of maltmen, smiths, carpenters, tailors, sailors, and coopers holding at least a share in a buss. By 1793 to 1795, thirty-eight merchants had a share in busses, five merchant/shipmasters, sixteen shipmasters, six coopers and a greater number of owners, seventeen, had various other occupations.[61]

Ownership was never in the eighteenth century possible for any but the more prosperous citizens of the town and the poor had little or no benefit from the herring fishing as it was practised with busses:

> The utmost a number of them are able to effect, by joining their whole stock together, is to fit up an old net and purchase a crazy boat, wherewith they can take as many herring as they can, some of which they use themselves, and boil up the rest for the sake of the oil they afford.[62]

The poorer people of Campbeltown were not only unable to take part in the actual herring buss fishery scheme, but they were prohibited by law from selling what they could catch themselves in their smaller boats to the herring busses.[63] The poor were unable in Campbeltown to have any part in the buss fishing as it operated in the latter half of the eighteenth century:

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[61] Ibid., Table 7.

[62] "Third Report on Fisheries" (1785), 234.

[63] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 287; James MacDonald, General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, Edinburgh (1811), 575.

> The richer inhabitants, who can fit out large vessels, and comply with all the customhouse regulations, may be able to follow the fishing business, under the present system of laws; but the poor, who make the far greater part of the inhabitants, are effectually excluded from any share in those advantages which their situation and the bounty of Providence, place, within their reach.[64]

The size of the busses did require a fairly large crew and therefore provided considerable employment in the town. The number of the crew depended upon the size of the buss with about six men only required for a twenty-ton vessel and at least sixteen needed for a seventy-ton boat.[65] The average size boat, about sixty tons, had fourteen crew men: a master, mate, cook, and at least five of the eleven men needed to be experienced. In the herring season, the busses drew less specialised labour from other areas, particularly agriculture.[66]

The number of busses outfitted in Campbeltown after 1771 showed the domination of the herring fishing by the town merchants: In 1772, forty-six busses were owned locally. By the time of the American War of Independence, sixty-eight busses were employed in the town. The numbers did slump for the duration of the war with a record low in 1781 of only twenty-nine locally-owned busses participating in the fishing. In numbers of barrels exported during this period, Campbeltown was second only to Greenock.

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[64] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 287.

[65] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), I, 274.

[66] Ibid.

The vocal element of Campbeltown, the merchant adventurers, declared themselves completely in favour of the busses in the 1785 Parliamentary Investigation and Report. Throughout the controversy of tonnage versus barrel payments, the town council showed concern about the continuation of the tonnage bounties. They instructed their representatives to give strong opposition to the proposed move for the barrel bounty.[67] During the committee investigations of 1785, the town council appointed a representative to go to Rothesay and Greenock

> in order to co-operate with the fishing adventurers in the firth of Clyde as to the properest mode of securing a continuation of the present bountys.[68]

The herring buss fishing as it operated under the tonnage bounties had brought economic success to Campbeltown as a hub of fishing activity. The magistrates of the town, share-owners in the busses themselves, were strong supporters of the policy of continuing the bounties that spelled prosperity for the town. The town's representative to the investigating committee in 1785 consistently presented the view that the tonnage bounty was the best means of encouraging the fishing:

> A certainty of some public assistance is particularly necessary to induce the adventurers (who are in general men of small capital) to go into the business.[69]

He argued that a bounty of thirty shillings per ton was not sufficient to ensure a continuation of the fishing ventures. A replacement of the

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[67] 21 June 1777, TCM, III.

[68] 1 March 1785, TCM, III.

[69] "Third Report on Fisheries" (1785), 104.

tonnage bounty by a barrel bounty he felt would ruin the merchant adventurers and they would consequently "abandon the Fishing business in decked vessels, as a trade no longer tenable."[70] The complete lack of response in Campbeltown to award a barrel bounty suggests that few, if any, open or partly decked boats were competing on a commercial scale by this time. Open boat fishing, even supported by a barrel bounty would have difficulty in succeeding in Campbeltown because of the weather if for no other reason. The adventurers argued:

> The fishery carried on by busses accompanied with boats from this port have for several years been pursued on the rugged northwest coast of Ireland in the face of a heavy swell of sea from the Atlantic Ocean and our fishers are very frequently in quest of shoals ofherring from three to five leagues off the land proving often successful, while the Inhabitants on the sides of the Lochs, unaccustomed to hazardous situations, remain idle, inactive, not venturing to proceed further than their lochs.[71]

Witnesses on the other side of the argument reminded the 1785 committee of the unfairness of the bounty system. The fishermen of these open boats, "poor natives in the west side of Cantire," could not compete against the busses.[72] Crews of the busses from the Clyde were reported because they would attack poor natives

> in their miserable canoes and driving them from the best fishing places, destroy their nets, cruelly maltreat them, and then let down their tackling, in the places of which they had then robbed the poor natives.[73]

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[70] Ibid.

[71] Collector to Board, 23 January 1790, CE 82/1/10.

[72] J. Knox, View ofthe British Empire (1785), I, 239.

[73] P. White, Observations on the Present State of Scotch Fisheries, Edinburgh (1791), 125-6.

More persons came increasingly to join this side of the controversy and to favour the open-boat fishing, even persons from such a stronghold as Campbeltown. The disadvantages of the buss bounties that the 1785-6 investigating committee pointed out were valid even in Campbeltown, despite the loud objections of the merchant adventurers. The author of the Statistical Account of the parish of Campbeltown declared his interests strongly against the buss fishing as being totally unfair to men of little capital. The way of living for the buss fishermen was expensive and the wages demanded high. The fishermen themselves were no longer owners of their own boats

> except the masters who might have a share . . .
> The great rise of the price of oak staves
> and barrels, has also become of late a
> heavy drawback on the business.
> For these reasons, it has not greatly prospered,
> although fostered by the kind hand of government.[74]

Even the provost, himself a merchant adventurer, who was initially prominent in the business in owning the first buss in Campbeltown and had branched into other areas of trade, pointed out that the tonnage bounty still discouraged fishing of other kinds for cod and ling. He wanted to see the bounty extended to small boats and vessels catching all kinds of fish.[75] In spite of the objections by the merchant adventurers, the committee in 1785/6 decided in favour of a barrel bounty and a reduction of the tonnage bounty to twenty shillings per ton. This decision numbered the days of the buss fishing in Campbeltown where the share holders in the busses argued that they were dependent upon receiving the bounty.

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[74] O.S.A., x, 552.

[75] D. Loch, Trade, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries (1778), II, 158.

Method of Buss Fishing in Campbeltown

The fishing from Campbeltown began on the 1 August, six weeks after the Dutch fishing. The customs books show that the main months of export from Campbeltown were October to January or February, the last two months being the busiest for export. The main market for the herring from the town was Ireland and a great number of ports took part in the trade, Drogheda, Cork, Waterford, Belfast, Wexford, Londonderry, Dundalk, Newry, Limerick, Sligo, Ballyshannon, and others. From Ireland, the herring were re-exported to the West Indies. Some isolated incidents show herring being sent directly from Campbeltown to the West Indies as in 1757 and 1764 particularly when vessels sailed for St. Christophers.[76] There were also good markets for the Campbeltown herring on the Clyde coast.[77] In the Baltic, Sweden - particularly Stockholm- was the biggest buyer of the town's fish from early in the 1740's before Sweden developed her own herring fishing very fully. On the Continent, Portugal and Spain provided the steadiest demand for fish and the herring was occasionally exported with cargoes of potatoes. Salt, particularly, and fruits and wines were brought back. The increased demand for herring in the Continent during Lent did not greatly affect the Campbeltown trade.[78]

After the change in the regulations in 1757 allowing herring busses to be used for other trading as well, a greater variety of vessels

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[76] Collectors Discharge Vouchers, E 512/139.

[77] O.S.A., x, 552.

[78] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), 277.

was evident in the customs papers. The average tonnage from 1771 to 1786 was fifty-one tons for Campbeltown, the largest average in Scotland at that time. From 1787 to 1796 the average vessel was fifty-six tons, again the largest for Scotland.[79] Campbeltown came second only to Greenock in the numbers of busses fitted out from 1771 to 1786 with 774 and Greenock with 886.[80]

The record of the trading of one merchant adventurer, perhaps the most successful one in Campbeltown in the decades of the 1760's and 1770's, shows the type of involvement. Until 1761, Robert Orr showed interest in fairly varied trade of all types. In 1761, he first exported herring to Ireland in two cargoes. This trade increasingly occupied his interests as he exported six cargoes in 1765 and three in 1766, the year the bounty payments failed to materialise. He did no exporting in 1767, but presumably had recovered sufficiently by 1768 to export five cargoes. The 1770's was a decade of prosperity for him particularly since the bounty was paid regularly. In 1773, he exported twenty-eight cargoes, followed by twenty-four, twenty-one, and twenty-seven.[81] His loan to the town of six hundred pounds sterling showed the extent of his success in the herring buss fishing as well as in other trading endeavours.[82]

A typical course of a herring buss can be followed in the diary of a Campbeltown baillie, Duncan McCorquodale, who spent the years

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[79] "Report on the Fisheries" (1798).

[80] Ibid.

[81] E 504/8/3-5.

[82] 21 November 1780, TCM, III.

1790 to 1794 at sea, although unfortunately this account is from a period of the decline in the trade. At sixteen he bound himself to serve two and a half years on board the brigantine George, a ninety-ton vessel. He sailed in the autumn of 1790 to Sligo. After a three-month delay there his vessel sailed to Greenock with salted beef and pork. In March 1791, they left Greenock to sail up the Baltic to Pillau for a cargo of wheat, returning to Campbeltown. In July, they sailed to Norway returning to Greenock with timber. In November, they joined the herring fishing in Ireland and caught three hundred barrels. In March 1792, they left Campbeltown for Limerick and from there sailed to Dublin with oatmeal and oats. In May, they ventured up to the Baltic again to Riga and returned to Dublin with flax and hemp. They sailed to Hessen and returned to Dublin with coals. They did not join the herring fishing that year but instead sailed to Cadiz with beef, butter, and pork and they brought fruit back to Dublin. In May 1794, they sailed to Archangel returning to Dublin with tar. That year they joined the herring fishing again for Lewis on that occasion at Loch Roaig, and returned with five hundred barrels. Unfortunately in May 1794, on a journey to Belfast they were wrecked on Scar Reef.[83]

In addition to the prosperity the herring buss fishing offered to the Campbeltown merchant adventurers and the employment to the people of the town, the fishing stimulated related jobs and industries of the town. Of the 248 members of the Lowland Relief Church who signed a petition in 1767, thirty-two men were merchants, those persons involved to the greatest extent in the busses. Twenty-four were ship masters,

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[83] D. Colville, "Pressganged," 7 February 1931, Campbeltown Courier. Information taken from a diary of D. McCorquodale, a baillie of Campbeltown, in possession of D. Colville.

one sail maker, one ship carpenter, and nine sailors.[84] "Ship master" was an occupation that was second only to "merchant" in the Lowland Baptismal Register.[85] A great number of coopers found employment in the town, nineteen listed as members of the Lowland Church alone.[86] By that year they outnumbered maltmen, weavers and other occupations. Barrels were a major expense for the fishermen, having to be made of oak staves. The cost varied considerably from year to year but generally they became increasingly expensive, from fifty shillings for twelve barrels charged in 1785 to seventy-two shillings in 1798.[87] In 1799, a Campbeltown cooper was selling twelve for ninety-two shillings.[88] The construction of the barrels for herring was extremely important for the quality of the herring. An attempt was made to ensure that staves should be at least a half inch thick but the act was repealed. The barrels which were of a lesser thickness could be crushed and lose their brine. An Irish barrel held twenty-eight gallons compared to the Scottish of thirty-two.[89] The timber trade was second only to the salt imports in regularity. When general trade was declining at the end of the eighteenth century, the collector of the port complained that

> the buss fishery, with salt and staves necessary for it are perhaps the only article of trade at this port.[90]

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[84] "A Short Detail of the Hardships," in the Minute Book of the Managers of the Relief Church of Campbeltown, 1767.

[85] L.B.R., OPR 507/1-5.

[86] "A Short Detail of the Hardships," in the Minute Book of the Managers of the Relief Church of Campbeltown, 1767.

[87] "Report on the Fisheries" (1798), 209.

[88] Armour Ledger, private collection, Campbeltown.

[89] "Third Report on the Fisheries" (1798), 177.

[90] Collector to the Board, 12 September 1782, CE 82/1/6.

The number of sailors brought into the town and the employment given to casual labour on the busses during the herring season meant increased prosperity for the town. One traveller in the town in the beginning of the nineteenth century spoke of:

> Detached villas and single houses scattered about the shore and the sides of the hills, not only add much to the ornamental appearance of the bay, but give an air of taste and opulence to the whole.[91]

He attributed the air of prosperity to the fact that the town even at that date was "always swarming with fishing boats and vessels of different kinds."[92]

Decline in Buss Fishing in Campbeltown after 1785

The result of the parliamentary committee investigation of 1785 was the establishment of the Incorporation of the British Society for Extending the Fisheries and Improving the Sea Coasts of this Kingdom. Capital of £150,000 in £50 shares was invested.[93] The most important article of the charter was the establishing of the fishing villages. Another act of the same year reorganised the bounty system with an attempted compromise between the advocates of the buss fishing and the supporters of the small boat industry.[94] Vessels over fifteen tons

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[91] John MacCulloch, The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland, (4 vols.), London (1824), II, 65.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Act 26 Geo. III, c. 106.

[94] Act 26 Geo.III, c. 81.

still received a tonnage bounty although further reduced from thirty shillings to twenty shillings per ton. A barrel bounty of four shillings per barrel was offered and small boats could claim one shilling per barrel raised to two shillings in 1795. A limit was set on the bounty payments with no vessel permitted to earn more than thirty shillings per ton. Vessels over eighty tons while no longer disqualified from the fishing, did not get a bounty on tonnage over the eighty-ton limit. Restrictions were also relaxed even further. Busses could depart at any time between 1 June and 1 October for the herring. The fish could be bought in the Highlands as well as caught, previously prohibited. The vessels could also fish for cod and ling. The fees to the custom officers were abolished and the duties on herring for home consumption were removed.[95] The one important omission in the articles of these two acts was attendance to the salt problems. The acts provided for a review of the laws governing herring fishing every seven years. This prompted a second investigation in 1798 which proposed fairly extensive changes. This investigation fully recommended that the tonnage bounties should be phased out over a period of five years.[96]

The slump in the Scottish buss fishery beginning in the early 1780's never left the Campbeltown port. The years from 1757 until the 1780's were isolated ones in Campbeltown's prosperity. From the decade of the '80's until the end of the eighteenth century, Campbeltown began to fall behind Greenock, Port Glasgow, and Rothesay in the buss fishing and after 1800, Campbeltown did not compete at all with these

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[95] "Third Report on Fisheries" (1785), 195.

[96] "Report on the Fisheries" (1798).

other ports in the herring buss fishing. The busses of the town declined from sixty-eight in 1776 to only twenty-nine in 1781. The total number in Scotland also declined from 294 to 181. After the 1785 investigation and consequent acts of 1786, there was actually a slight upsurge. The number of busses in Campbeltown increased to 55 in 1791. However, thereafter there was a steady decline; whereas, the Scottish buss fishery remained fairly constant. From 1787 to 1797 the number of locally-owned busses dropped to 488 while the number of Greenock vessels remained constant at 876 and the number in Rothesay actually rose to 551. Stornoway, Thurso, and Fort William also showed a marked increase.[97]

An obvious reason for the decline of the industry in Campbeltown was the reduction of the tonnage bounty to twenty shillings per ton in favour of the barrel bounty. A less obvious reason for the lack of enthusiasm was the escalating expense of materials and provisions because of war and inflation. Factors also to take into consideration were the threats of both the privateers and the pressgangs, and the growing Irish competition for the same markets in the West Indies. The transatlantic trade declined after American independence, and that trade linked with Ireland, had been of major significance in Campbeltown particularly. A comparison of prices for provisions before the American revolution and after explains the increased expense. Spanish and Portuguese salt increased from one shilling sixpence per bushel to three shillings sixpence. Barrels rose from two shillings sixpence to five shillings threepence. Tar showed the most startling rise from eight

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[97] "Account of the Number of Vessels Fitted Out in Scotland," in J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), II, 377.

shillings per barrel to two pounds and two shillings. Hemp went from one pound fourteen pence per hundredweight to two pounds sixpence.[98] At the same time that the costs of supplies were increasing so steeply, prices of herring were falling dramatically, largely due to increased supplies because of growing Irish interest in the fishing. In 1782, Campbeltown merchant adventurers complained of the Irish selling herring to the people of Gigha off the west coast of Kintyre.[99] This was prohibited by law.[100] Adding insult to injury the Campbeltown fishermen, along with all Scottish fishermen, were required to pay high duties on salt and barrels on board vessels off the coast of Ireland. They were denied the privileges of using land a hundred yards above the high water mark as Irish fishermen were allowed to do in Britain.[101] From December onwards, Campbeltown fishermen who were off the Irish coasts were required to pay a duty of twelve to fourteen shillings per ton on salt and four pence on each barrel. Each small boat shooting nets paid two guineas for the privilege. They had to cure on board the vessels for they were not allowed to land.[102]

It would be difficult to say whether the war-time privateers were more threatening than the pressgangs. The town council expressed its concern on several occasions over

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[98] Ibid., I, 203.

[99] Collector to Board, 30 January 1782, CE 82/1/6.

[100] Act 1 Geo., c.1 sec. 18.

[101] "A Memorial from the Magistrates of the Burgh of Campbeltown for themselves and in the Name of the Adventurers in the White Herring Fishing," November 1784 in "Third Report on the Fisheries." (1785), 178.

[102] Ibid., 235.

> the present alarming situation of the burrow from the American privateers now hovering upon the coasts and in the Irish channel.[103]

Among the privateers was John Paul Jones, a threat with six vessels of war "with an intent to burn and to destroy the towns upon the coasts."[104] The government appointed revenue cruisers to protect the fishing vessels on the west coast from these privateers, but they had limited success:

> It has been exceedingly unfortunate that a succession of storms and contrary winds have hitherto put it out of the power of the King's vessels to get round the Mull of Kintyre in order to proceed to the Highlands for the protection of our poor fishers.[105]

On one occasion the Dove was boarded in the channel between Cushendun and the Mull by the men from a large cutter rigged privateer and the ship pillaged.[106] The Sophia Augusta had a similar experience at the hands of the Black Princess of Boston.[107] These threats undoubtedly caused a decline of interest in the Campbeltown fishing particularly, being so exposed to the threats from the Atlantic.

Also harmful for the fishing was the worry of the pressgangs. One of the advantages of a successful buss fishing for the government, and a reason cited when the government bounty was first proposed, was

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[103] 10 July 1777, TCM, III.

[104] 6 September 1779, TCM, III.

[105] Collector to Board, 23 October 1780, CE 82/1/5.

[106] Collector to Board, 11 July 1780, CE 82/1/5.

[107] Ibid.

the training of able seamen for the Navy.[108] In 1776, a bounty of one to three pounds was offered to men who voluntarily entered the service of the British Navy. The town council of Campbeltown supplemented this by offering a bounty of two guineas to each able-bodied seaman and one guinea to an ordinary seaman as well as the freedom of the burgh upon his discharge.[109] The same was offered at the outbreak of war in 1793.[110] Despite the inducements offered by the government and individual towns, the pressgangs still had to forcibly detain men to serve in the Navy, the easiest way of getting experienced seamen being to raid the fishing busses. The collector at Campbeltown wrote to the Board in Edinburgh of the detrimental effects the pressgangs were having upon the buss fishery:

> It appears by our rendezvous book that out of the busses belonging to our port which returned here in January 1771, seventy-six men were impressed and hundred and seven more run off or deserted from their vessels.[111]

By an act in 1795, the government sought 683 men from the Clyde. Campbeltown had such difficulty raising its quota that they offered twenty-five pounds to any two able-bodied men who would join the Navy.[112] The same Duncan McCorquodale, author of the diary, was impressed when the buss on which he was sailing went on the reefs off Ireland. He served from 1794 to 1803 on various vessels. He was aboard La Feurtelle

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[108] "Third Report on the Fisheries" (1785), 41.

[109] 18 December 1776, TCM, III.

[110] 14 February 1793, TCM, IV.

[111] 3 March 1775, TCM, III.

[112] 13 June 1795, TCM, IV.

of thirty guns when it was sent to accompany six merchant ships to the West Indies in 1796. He served on the Alarm, a frigate of thirty-two guns built in 1761 as the first copper-bottomed man of war, when it cruised off Granada, Tobago, and Trinidad. He reported the hard times with thirty men dying of "flew and fever", a marine receiving four hundred lashes for desertion, and of two seamen hung and gibbeted on a small island where all could see. At the termination of his service with three hundred and thirty pounds in prize money, he landed at Greenock in May 1803 and shortly afterwards assumed the somewhat safer and, one would hope, more lucrative career of Campbeltown merchant.[113] Even the prize money offered to the impressed men did not soften the hardships or make the service more attractive. The threat of the pressgangs became a reason, or an excuse, for often curtailing the fishing voyage:

> We can not help observing
> that to the great detriment
> of the fishing and those
> concerned in it, the seamen
> are but too apt
> towards the end of three months
> which they deem the close of
> the voyage, to consider that
> impress vessels are there
> appointed to compel them
> into the Navy.[114]

The buss fishing in Campbeltown was not able to stand up to these hardships imposed upon it at the end of the eighteenth century. Without the incentive of the large tonnage bounty, the merchant adventurers did not seem to think the expense of outfitting the buss and the risks

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[113] D. Colville, "Pressganged," 7 February 1931, Campbeltown Courier. Information taken from a diary of D. McCorquodale.

[114] Collector to Board, 13 August 1796, CE 82/1/13.

involved on the war-time seas could be justified by the profit made in an increasingly competitive market.

The post mortem was carried out on the dead industry in Campbeltown. The livelihoods of the collector and officers of the customs of the town were dependent upon the buss fishing to a great extent. The correspondence of the collector in the last two decades of the century was characterised by complaints about the losses incurred through the decline of fishing and changes in the fees.[115] The collector remembered that

> the period is not distant when the number was above a hundred busses, and the Collector's office was considered to be worth three hundred pounds per annum.[116]

By the beginning of the nineteenth century exporting herring to the West Indies or the Continent stopped completely if the information from the collector is to be trusted:

> We would observe that there are no herring here packed and cured in a state fit for exportation to the West Indies. All the herrings brought to this Port this season from the fishing were cured for home consumption or the Irish market where most of them have been sent.[117]

An Irish trade alone was not enough to sustain a healthy fleet of busses. As with other trades and exchanges of goods, when the situation became more difficult and it was harder to realize a profit, illegalities

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[115] Act 26 Geo. III, c. 81.

[116] Collector to Board, 29 December 1786, CE 82/1/8.

[117] Collector to Board, 10 February 1801, CE 82/1/15.

prevailed. Frauds coloured the latter years of the Campbeltown buss fishing. The most common deceit was to lie about the time of the fishing. An example of one such deceit is sufficient to explain the practice. In 1794, ten herring busses from Campbeltown were not awarded the bounty of twenty-shillings per ton and four shillings per barrel since they did not go to the fishing but remained forty-two days "useless and inactive in harbour."[118] Discrepancies in the logs of the busses were detected on occasions.[119] Upon investigation the Campbeltown collector discovered

> that enormous frauds were committed annually by vessels drawing the bounty particularly that many of the busses would sail from their ports on the legal day and as soon as they had dipped their nets (which was in the first loch they came to) they immediately run into some bye harbour where they lay up their vessel and all hands turn on shore to follow any other employments that may occur for perhaps five or six weeks together in place of persevering in the Fishery which I apprehend is the meaning of granting bounties.[120]

Another evil that pervaded the fishing was the prevalence of many vessels drawing the bounty

> while in place of pursuing the fishing they actually carried on smuggling into the Highlands and by means of carrying some nets and boats on their decks

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[118] Board to Collector, 27 November 1794, CE 82/1/12

[119] Collector to Board, 13 August 1796, CE 82/1/13.

[120] Board to Collector, 5 September 1791, CE 82/1/11.

> screen themselves from suspicion
> and commonly pass the revenue
> cruiser without any search.[121]

Many occasions of frauds were discovered when weighing cargoes of herring which turned out not to be herring, in fact. The collector also reported that the practice of shipping herring coastwise from Campbeltown and then conveying them to Ireland in order to evade the export bond, was a common one.[122] The frequency of frauds that pervaded the herring buss fishing in the latter years of the eighteenth century were an indication that the fishing itself had, in fact, failed by this stage and that the owners of the busses were grasping at straws.

Conclusions.

The eventual failure of the herring buss fishing in Campbeltown at the end of the eighteenth century is a recognised fact; however, recognition of the final failure is not an admission of worthlessness of the industry as it ran its course from 1757. There were numerous critics of the fishing as it operated under the bounty system who were quick to point out the disadvantageous aspects of herring buss fishing. Foremost among these critics was John Smith, who criticised the operation of the scheme with the advantage of hindsight:

> Had the people of Campbeltown
> exerted the perseverance, industry,
> and zeal bestowed on the fishing
> for forty years past upon agriculture,

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[121] Collector to Board, 26 February 1805, CE 82/1/18.

[122] Ibid.

> manufactures, and commerce in general, their gains, though small and slow, would have been sure and steady.[123]

His main critism, like that of many others, was that the buss fishing diverted capital and efforts which might have been directed into longer-term economic pursuits. However, Smith had to admit that approximately thirty thousand pounds per year accrued from fishing exports in Campbeltown including bounties and debentures.[124] The merchant adventurers became the men of capital in the town as the maltmen had been earlier in the century. The herring was as important in bringing capital into the town as black cattle and malt had been in earlier years. Smith was also sparing in his praise for the alternative outlet for investment of time and money in Campbeltown in the 1790's, the growing distilling industry:

> The first (distilling) is profitable to the undertakers but hurtful to the public; the last (buss fishing) is advantageous to the public but unprofitable to the industrious.[125]

Certainly while the buss fishery was thriving in the town, other industries and trades were forced into a very secondary position. The varied trade of the 1740's and early 1750's, to Sweden, Norway, Spain, and Portugal, did not expand during the more prosperous days of the herring busses but, in fact, faded into the background as the merchant adventurers concentrated all their efforts on reaping the revenue from the bounties. As the fishing became more competitive and the bounties

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[123] O.S.A., x, 554.

[124] J. Smith, General View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 282.

[125] Ibid., 308.

became less lucrative, merchants began to show again the degree of diversification in their trading routes that they had shown in the pre-buss days. Similarly, any industries which were not directly related to the fishing and even some of those that were, such as salt-manufacturing, did not show the signs of expansion that would have been expected in days of relative prosperity. Pursuing the fishing, or the bounty as some critics have alleged, was an all-consuming industry that spared little time or money for other outlets after 1757. To some extent, therefore, John Smith's criticisms can be justified.

To see only the eventual failure of the buss fishery, as Smith did, would distort the overall picture as much as to view the efforts of the merchant adventurers as a complete success, as Knox tended to do. Certainly a considerable benefit came to the town from its appointment as a rendezvous port in 1755. Numerous visitors to the town commented upon the growth of the burgh from 1755 to 1770 and the air of prosperity that pervaded the town in these years of increased economic activity at the pier. However artificial the buss fishery proved to be for the country as a whole, the gains to the port of Campbeltown were very real. Its central importance in the fishing attracted men and vessels to the port and consequently capital. Although a temporary distraction from the development of other foreign trades and industries such as linen manufacturing or whisky distilling, the capital that came into the port of Campbeltown in these years helped to make these ventures possible later. The herring fishing itself did not come to an end, only in the government-supported busses. In

the nineteenth century fishing was worked again by fishermen themselves.

> During the months of June, July, and August last (1843), one hundred and fifty boats with crews of four men in each were employed in fishing herrings in the sound of Kilbrannan which were carried to Campbeltown.[126]

The herring buss fishing, like other eighteenth-century Campbeltown economic efforts, had a temporary but important part to play in the overall development of the burgh.

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[126] N.S.A., vii, 463-4.

CHAPTER 5

DEVELOPMENT OF COAL MINING AT DRUMLEMBLE

Campbeltown was fortunate in having the only coal deposits in Argyll. Development of the industry was indicative of the demand of other Kintyre industries, such as distilling, as well as the growing market in the town for fuel. The skill and techniques necessary hindered its development in any serious way, but the distance from the next nearest source, Ayrshire, was a stimulation. The interest of the town, as well as the interest of outsiders, in the investment is a further sign of the restless mercantile capital in Campbeltown in the second half of the eighteenth century when the major developments occurred. It is a valuable exercise to take the efforts of mining at Drumlemble and compare these efforts to the national norm.[1] The mines are interesting from both a social and an economic perspective. Aspects of ownership and management are as enlightening as discoveries of techniques and skills employed and actual figures of production. The whole analysis gives a picture of one coal mine and its halting progress through the eighteenth century.

The primary beds of coal are located about three and a half miles west of Campbeltown on the west coast of the peninsula in an area now called Machrihanish. A plan of the coal near Campbeltown shows that primary workings were on the farm of Drumlemble in the

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[1] Information on the state of the coal industry generally in Scotland in the eighteenth century is taken primarily from B. Duckham, A History of the Scottish Coal Industry (2 vols.), Newton Abbot (1970), vol.I: 1700-1815.

eighteenth century.[2] Although coal was suspected nearer to Campbeltown, at Flush, it has always been at Drumlemble that the coal has been worked. Kilkivan, Ballygreggan, and Tirfergus Glen were later areas of lesser development.[3] In its location, the eighteenth century coal mine was typical of west coast mines of the period, located near tidal waters, in this case three miles from the sea, and near salt pans, Mary Pans being one and a half miles away. The greatest disadvantage in the Campbeltown coal field was the actual quality of the coal and eventually led to the closure of the mines in 1967 and to unemployment in the area.

By 1749, two seams had been identified and worked to some extent. The upper seam was described as:

> . . . thin slatey lying coal, dry, not very black nor has it much sulfur in it. It riseth in thin flags and is easily broken. It burns very well in chimneys and they tell me it sells 2/6 a ton cheaper in the Irish mercat than the west country coal does for ordinary.[4]

This seam was sixteen fathoms deep. A lower sea, twenty fathoms deep, was found to be "a stronger coal blacker and burns better . . . the body of the coal is pretty clean but has several ribs or dykes of whinstone running through it unregularly."[5] Two centuries later and equipped with far more sophisticated expertise, no better seams had been found. The coal mined in the twentieth century was

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[2] A Plan of the Coal near Campbeltown as it Lays in the Ground with its Lenth (six) and Breadth, 1752, S.C. 17679, ff. 140-1. See app. 13

[3] Queries as to the coal works at Campbeltown, 30 September 1749, S.C. 17679, f. 43.

[4] Ibid., f. 41.

[5] Ibid., f. 42.

unsuitable for domestic use leaving a great deal of white ash. Although it was useful for furnaces, there was not industrial demand for it. In the nineteenth century some of the thirty distilleries used local coal, although others continued to import a better quality, but by 1967 the lack of local demand and the distance to the nearest industrial markets made the mining unprofitable.

An outline of the history of the ownership and development of the coal fields is useful before studying the actual techniques used in winning, working, and transporting the coal. The earliest mention of coal in Kintyre comes as a result of King James IV's visit to Tarbert, Dunaverty, and Kilkerran in 1494. Thereafter eighteen shillings was"given to a coal man to go to Kintyre to see if coals can be got there."[6] With the development of the burgh of barony developed an interest in the known coal fields. By 1669, the coal rights belonged to the House of Argyll, as they did throughout most of their history. Although the lands of St. Ninian and Ballygreggan were set in feu to Ronald McDonald of Sanda, the 9th Earl of Argyll reserved to himself, "All mine, minerals, coals, and coal heughs that shall be found within the said lands, it being however lawful for the said Ronald to win coal for his own use."[7] In 1670, a coal carrier was mentioned in the Lowland Baptismal Register suggesting that coal was being won commercially by that date.[8]

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[6] 27April 1498, Accounts of the Lord High Treasury of Scotland.

[7] Historical Manuscripts Commission Report, IV, n. 475.

[8] 1670, L.B.R., OPR 507/1.

By 1678, the coal heughs and the salt pans were jointly tenanted by John Campbell, chamberlain to the Earl of Argyll, and Alexander Forrester, proprietor of Knockrioch, "who paid to the Earl for their tenancy the not inconsiderable sum of £1333-6-8 Scots."[9]

When Elizabeth Tolmache, Dowager Duchess of Argyll, acquired the life rent of the coal heughs in 1706 they were in ruins and little was done throughout her lifetime to 1735 to redeem their sorry state. An overseer, a local man, made several trials between the known coals and the sea, in each of which a body of coal of the same thickness was found.[10]

The period of management under the 2nd Duke was equally ineffective in spite of the chamberlain's warning, "Your Grace would not expect profit unless the method followed by Her Grace is quite changed."[11] The period was one of working existing coals to the bone, all superficial ones and level free ones had been found. What was required was investment in sinking trials and the 2nd Duke was reluctant, and perhaps too busy in London, to heed advice by the chamberlain. The chamberlain advised a lease for the coal mines.[12] A three-year correspondence between the Duke and the chamberlain defines the difficulty in getting a tenant:

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[9]N.L.S. MS. 3367, Kintyre Rentals.

[10]Magistrates of Campbeltown to Lord Milton, 13 November 1752, S.C. 17679, ff. 136-7.

[11]Archibald Campbell to the Duke of Argyll, 26 May 1735, S.L. iii, f.96, GD 14/10/3.

[12]Ibid.

> It is very much your Grace's interest that these works be keeped up in some shape or other. If they are managed with the least success, it must raise the trade of Campbeltown and of consequence your Grace's rent in town and country.[13]

The 2nd Duke, who raised rents so extortionately on Tiree, Mull and other Argyll lands, failed to realise any profit from the coal mines during this period. From 1737 to 1738, the 2nd Duke appeared to manage the mines himself with the chamberlain as overseer, who wanted nothing to do with the workings by 1732:

> I have no view to be more or less concerned in the coal. I have burned my fingers already with them, but believe it was pretty much owing to mismanagement.[14]

The most plausible explanation for the failure to gain a tacksman is that, in his usual style, the 2nd Duke had the rent for the mines at such an extortionate level that no tenant could be found. Again the chamberlain advised him to keep the mines going at all costs, "If the coal works are given up, it will hurt his rent, particularly of houses and acres in Campbeltown and lands in the neighbourhood."[15] He explained:

> If colliers, bearers, grieves, salters, and coal drovers are discharged, it must hurt mercats, shopkeepers and mechanicks of all kinds and denominations in Campbeltown and probably reduce the number of inhabitants of the town.[16]

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Archibald Campbell to the Duke of Argyll, 11 November 1738, S.L., iii, f.246, GD 14/10/3.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

The 2nd Duke tried to rouse interest among town councillors but the provost hesitated, agreeing to lay aside five pounds for finding the coal "and if when these sums are expended there is a good appearance of coal no doubt private persons will cheerfully contribute their mite."[17]

The period of management under the 3rd Duke was a time of survey, trial and error. New seams had to be located before definite progress could be made. Neill McNeill of Machrihanish, the first tacksman, did nothing but further exhaust existing mines to the detriment of the whole.[18] A series of surveyors, who suffered from ill health, did somewhat better. Considerable enthusiasm and local interest was shown in 1749 when the chamberlain of Kintyre and the chamberlain of Argyll both helped to instigate the survey of the coal. Finally, James Kilpatrick lasted long enough to make some progress. He took over in 1750 as manager "of the late coal works at Drumlemble at present drown'd".[19] Although he did not live long enough to get the works actually begun, his trials were thorough and set the ground for later development.[20] By 1750, interest was roused and the magistrates attempted to become involved.[21] In 1752, the

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[17] 10 October 1741, TCM, II.

[18] Archibald Campbell to Lord Milton, 1749, S.C. 16664, f.129.

[19] Memorial by Gilbert Robertson, Manager of the Coal works of Elphinston Quarrie and James Kirkpatrick (sic), Overseer of the Coal works of Pinkie, 1750, S.C. 17679, f.116.

[20] Archibald Campbell to Sir Colin Campbell, 12 December 1751, S.C. 170, ff. 115-6.

[21] Report touching the coal in Campbeltown, 13 November 1752, S.C. 17670, ff. 136-7.

magistrates proposed a plan to the Duke of Argyll for keeping the coals free of water. Obviously by this time they had need for the coal and their economic enthusiasm was pervading yet another venture. The names of the men who took an interest in the mines in 1752 were familiar ones: Thomas Fraser, William Buchanan, David Watson, William McKinlay, John Campbell, Archibald Fleming, Edward Orr, William Finlay, M. Spalding, Robert Fraser, Alexander Rowat and Dugald Stewart. Fraser was the collector of customs in the port of Campbeltown .[22] Buchanan was a Campbeltown provost.[23] Watson, McKinlay, Campbell, Fleming, Orr and Finlay were influential maltmen - merchants in the port, with some capital to invest in other industrial interests.[24] Under local management once more, the coal fields showed again what a white elephant they could be if not in expert hands.[25]

In 1765, Charles McDowall of Crichen took over the works, and the liabilities of former tacksmen, and began a period of company management with the Duke of Argyll getting a rent and profits from five shares. After two years of trials, the works were opened in 1767.[26] In 1771, the leases were renewed for

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[22] 1749-1762, CE 82/1/1.

[23] 30 October 1751, TCM, II.

[24] See above, Chapter 1.

[25] Memorial of Samuel Mitchell and William Mitchell, 3 October 1759, S.C. 17680,ff. 124-5.

[26] Collector to the Board, 6 December 1765, CE 82/1/2.

twenty-seven years and the mines were run fairly successfully by an overseer even after the death of McDowall in 1791. A company of fifteen local men took over the leases in 1798 and ran the coal mines profitably throughout the nineteenth century under a skilled manager.[27] The partners at the end of the century were Daniel Clerk, James Campbell, Archibald Galbraith, Andrew Ralston, William Harvey, Jr., James Harvey Baker, John Dunlop, James Andrew, James Park, David Ferguson, Donald Munro, Allan Anderson, William Watson, Jr., James Harvey and Donald Campbell.

The techniques of sinking and boring were crucial to the development of the coal deposits, techniques by which the eighteenth century Campbeltown fields largely failed. Collieries in the eighteenth century were generally shallow. Sinking a trial pit was the most usual form of locating the seams. By the 1740's, the more skilled method of boring was becoming more common. In England the skills of sinker and borer were separate ones while in Scotland they were one and the same. Behind either was the landlord, the instigator, who stood to gain or lose by the sinker's or borer's skill.[28] Coal in Campbeltown was discovered in the very simplest way, by appearance, until the 1740's. The 2nd Duke's difficulty in obtaining a tacksman for his mines was the result of the non-appearance of further seams after the obvious ones were exhausted and the expense of sinking a trial pit. The 3rd Duke was willing to invest in the services

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[27]Coal Company to D. Stewart, Chamberlain, 22 November 1797, A.E.O.

[28]Duckham, History of Scottish Coal (1970), I, 44.

of a professional coal surveyor from Dunfermline, detaining him en route to Ireland. In the two days he spent in Campbeltown, he chose a spot, sank a pit, and employed eight men for a fortnight in sinking. They went eighteen or twenty feet through clay and came upon a bed of small, running sand with a good quantity of water "so that whatever was cleared in the daytime, was in a great measure filled with sand in the night time."[29] Two men were kept constantly at work drawing the water with buckets. The rebellion of 1745 put a stop to the trial.[30]

In 1750, when James Kilpatrick, overseer from Pinkie Colliery, took over the management along with Gilbert Robertson, manager of Elphinstone Colliery, they made numerous preliminary trips to Campbeltown. They sunk a trial nine fathoms:

> The pitt must be strongly cradled or pended with hewn stone either sunk upon a frame of wood from the surface or built as they go down. As this will be a lasting pitt no care nor charge must be spar'd in setting it down.[31]

They also employed men in boring five fathoms below the sink or in all fourteen fathoms four feet from the surface, but to no avail: "They have had different kinds of metall such as freestone gray and black till by turns but no coal."[32] Unfortunately, Kilpatrick's ill health put a stop to this most thorough search. The chamberlain estimated the expense of boring

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[29] Affairs related to Kintyre to be considered by the Duke of Argyll, 1749, S.C. 17679, ff. 57-58.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Memorial by Robertson and Kilpatrick, 1750, S.C. 17679, f.117

[32] Ibid.

and drawing the water at three pounds. He questioned whether to carry on the work without Kilpatrick for if they stopped all would fill up soon.[33] The trials were, in fact, abandoned until 1765 when McDowall employed fifteen men in the summer until the rainy season obliged him to abandon the work.[34] The coal company at the end of the eighteenth century opened new pits with advanced methods of sinking and boring. They sank to forty-five fathoms through sand and clay at the surface which required cradling. By this time the mines had a steam engine with twelve-inch barrel pumps.[35]

Coals at Drumlemble were not deep compared with other mines at that time; obviously the deeper the mine the more difficulties involved such as supporting the roof, draining the water, ventilating the mine, and hauling the coals to the surface. Most mines in the early eighteenth century were shallow and had level free drainage.[36] One method of working the mine at that time was "bord and pillar", or "room and stoop" it might be called in certain regions. Pillars of coal were left around the workings to support the roof. The deeper the mine, the greater the size of the pillar and therefore the proportion of the coal

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[33] Chamberlain to Sir Colin Campbell, 12 December 1751, S.C. 16673, f175.

[34] William Buchanan to the Board of Customs, 6 December 1765, CE 82/1/2.

[35] William Kerr to Duncan Stewart, Chamberlain, 22 November 1797, Kintyre estate papers relating to the coal-works, 1791-1799, Bundle 806, A.E.O. Kintyre estate papers relating to the coal works in the years covered by this thesis are in three bundles: 1749-1790, Bundle 805; 1791-1799, Bundle 806; 1800-1809, Bundle 807. Hereafter referred to by date ohly.

[36] Duckham, History of Scottish Coal (1970), I, 58.

left unworked. This was obviously a wasteful method of room support and the temptation was always to work away at the pillars themselves. Gradually, methodical ways were worked out of even gaining the pillar coal, but not without loss of life undoubtedly. Other portions could then be ruined by landfall. Perhaps it was as much the loss of future coal as the loss of miners' lives that discouraged the proprietors from working their mines to the fullest under this method. The other method, long-wall working, brought thinner seams into working and left long alleyways or trenches in the pits.[37]

The method used in the Drumlemble was bord and pillar or called "room and pillar". There were three seams of coal discovered at the time James Kilpatrick took over the mine. The upper seam was sixteen fathoms deep below six fathoms of sand and clay and ten fathoms of solid rock. This seam was six and a half feet thick and of poor quality. Three fathoms lower was a seam five feet thick of better quality.[38] This was still relatively shallow considering that the coal at Pinkie was four feet thick and thirty-four fathoms or at Alloa, Clackmannanshire, five feet thick and thirty fathoms deep.[39] A third seam even shallower, was discovered but could not be wrought without causing damage to the two lower seams. The roof would have been too thin.[40]

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[37] Ibid., 58 et seq.

[38] A Draught of the Coals at Campbeltown in Kintyre belonging to His Grace the Duke of Argyll, 1752, S.C. 17679, ff. 140-2. See app. 12.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Queries as to the Coalworks at Campbeltown, 30 September 1749, S.C. 17679, f. 45.

The rooms were ten feet by eight feet and the pillars were six by eight. Approximately one-third of the coal was left.[41]

This was the method of working up to Kilpatrick's time. In the last years before he took over, the lessee, probably Niall McNeill, was allowing pillars to be cut down, usually prohibited in a contract between owner and lessee for the damage that could result to a future mine. When Kilpatrick took over he reported:

> All the pillars above the water
> is as far cut down as dare be ventured
> which will in a short time cause all
> the ground above them set down.[42]

In his advice to the Duke after his survey, he proposed leaving the remaining pillars.[43]

Eighteenth-century collieries were generally drained through adits and levels. Mines were opened and abandoned with comparable frequency because drainage was the greatest difficulty until the fire or steam engine became more widely used at the end of the eighteenth century. Even then it could eat into the profits. The Campbeltown mine, much like many of the Ayrshire ones, was shallow under a bed of clay or sand near tidal waters. In such mines the easiest method of drainage was an adit or channel to carry the water off.[44] At Drumlemble there was no sign of the use of an adit although there is ample evidence to suggest that the mines were worked level free through McNeill's tenancy.[45]

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid., f.41.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Duckham, History of Scottish Coal (1970), I, 14.

[45] Queries as to the Coal, 30 September 1749, S.C. 17679, f.47.

The period of surveying from 1747-9 shows a primary concern for level-free workings.[46] At Flush, the coal seams discovered would need drainage; at the glen the coals might be got level free but transport to the town was not easy. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of the outcome.

A number of pits, such as Stevenston in Ayrshire, employed horses to drain while sinking a trial. The horses could not cope with deep mining and they were an expensive method. They were useful in shallow pits, especially ones that might not justify the outlay of such an investment.[47] The gin sink in the Campbeltown pit was sixteen and a half fathoms. Eight horses were used to lift the water. In 1749, this method was still used:

> There was still eight horses kept for the gin two at each yoking for two hours, they wrought night and day without any stoppage excepting in a drought in the summer time when they might be idle four of the twenty-four hours. The cask or bucket contained sixty English gallons.[48] They ordinary drew fifty-two buckets per hour.

Apparently, horses were used as late as 1797 in the mine when the person who supplied the horses to the coal work "refused to do so any longer as they considered that they had been unfairly treated."[49] Since there were other methods of extracting water in operation at Drumlemble by that time, it is unclear whether

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[46] Ibid.

[47] Duckham, History of Scottish Coal (1970), I, 81.

[48] Queries as to the Coal, 30 September 1749, S.C. 17679, f. 43.

[49] John Christie to the Chamberlain of Kintyre, 22 November 1797, A.E.O.

the horses were used for haulage or as a supplementary aid for draining. In the case cited they were used when a working beam of an engine broke. However by 1749, Kilpatrick had advised other methods of draining:

> An engine should be erected to drain water wrought by fire or water as that shall be found best.[50]

No mention was made of a wind engine for even by this early date they had proved unreliable even in a place as windy as Kintyre, in a mine which needed constant drainage. Eventually Kilpatrick opted for the fire engine:

> As horse engines are very chargeable and not able to draw the water and wind mills are very uncertain for working a coal that must be constantly kept dry. But before any such engine is determined upon it will be proper to set down a pit about four hundred feet or thereby . . . . to see the quality of the coal and its dipping.[51]

Kilpatrick died before the fire engine was erected. Instead a water wheel became the next drainage improvement.

Water wheels were common in Scotland at this time. The one that the Earl of Rothes had at Stephen Row in 1738 was twenty-one feet in diameter. With nine strokes a minute it could raise over 185 hogsheads of water per hour. The cost of installation was about two hundred pounds.[52] In 1752, when local merchants were beginning to take an interest in the mines, twelve of them all with distilling or brewing interests wrote to the 3rd Duke

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[50] Memorial by Robertson and Kilpatrick, 1750, S.C. 17679, ff.116-7.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Duckham, History of Scottish Coal (1970), I, 80.

suggesting damming up the springs and rivulets in the hills above the coal works:

> This reservoir could drive pumps for keeping coall free of water or alternatively, the rivers at the Backs could be joined which would be suffit to keep the machine going all year.[53]

The water wheel was erected but possibly not until McDowall's management. Pennant noticed it on his tour in 1772, "On the road side a great wheel, designed for the raising of water from the neighbouring collieries."[54] When the coal company took over from McDowall in 1798 the valuators estimated the value of the water wheel at £169-11-0.[55]

The last stage of development would have been the erection of a Newcomen engine. A guaranteed return was needed to warrant the expense of setting up an engine which could cost a thousand pounds rather than two hundred pounds for a water engine. By 1733, there were some forty "fire engines" in Britain but only a handful in Scotland: Saltcoats, Tranent and Elphinstone in 1719-20; Edmonstone in 1727. By 1769, there were only about fourteen known engines although there were possibly more.[56] Probably McDowall did not install an engine or it would have been mentioned in the valuation along with the water wheel. But the Coal Company did invest in a steam engine sometime before the turn of the century, costing three hundred pounds. Unfortunately, this was coupled with

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[53] Magistrates of Campbeltown to Lord Milton, 13 November 1752, S.C. 17679, ff.136-7.

[54] Pennant, Tour of Scotland (1772) I, 233-4

[55] Report of the Valuators, 19 March 1798, A.E.O.

[56] Duckham, History of Scottish Coal (1970), I, 85.

the expense of other new machinery, "bringing in the moss," and two pits being sunk in wrong places.[57] It is questionable whether the outlay was ever justified.

Various designs in ventilation in the mines became increasingly complex in the eighteenth century, from the most common and simplest, "in-gaun ee'n" to upcast-downcast systems using fires and chimneys. On the 1749 plan of the Campbeltown coal pits, which is very detailed in most respects, no allowance was made for ventilation, which would suggest that it was simply the main shaft. Certainly the pit was not a deep one and fire damp was not a problem. In Kilpatrick's plans he determined to sink a substantial pit about four hundred feet to determine quality of coal "which pitt will be of use in serving as an air and drawing pitt when the said engine may be erected."[58] In fact, he sunk a trial on either side of the old workings.[59]

Little is known of the methods of extracting coal from the Drumlemble mines. Bearers were mentioned along with other mine workers.[60] The stair sink "by which they carried out the coals" was twenty fathoms deep in 1749.[61] From the evidence available it is not possible to detail conditions of the bearers, but the situation would most probably not be any better than in other

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[57] William Kerr to Duncan Stewart, 1801, A.E.O.

[58] Queries as to the Coalworks at Campbeltown, 30 September 1749, S.C. 17679, f.44.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Articles of Agreement Between His Grace Archibald Duke of Argyll and James Kirkpatrick(sic)overseer of the Coale works at Pinkie, 1750. S.C. 17679, f.124.

[61] Queries as to the Coalworks at Campbeltown, 30 September 1749, S.C. 17679, f.42.

Scottish pits of the time.

The nearest market was obviously Campbeltown, four miles distant. Initially carriers were paid to bear the coal from Drumlemble.[62] Later the coals were taken by pack pony or cart by a road running along the foothills and joining with the Southend road at Knocknaha. The carters' wages were closely regulated by the town council. The transport was a prime consideration and even helped to determine where to mine. Although coal was discovered in Tirfergus glen it was not worked for "they are at as great a distance from Campbeltown as the old workings and worse road and a greater distance from the salt pans . . ."[63] Little coal was exported by sea. For every barrel exported was collected a duty of one-third of a penny.[64]

In the spirit of the age it was decided that a canal was needed to get the coal to Campbeltown. McDowall employed James Watt to survey the route for a canal to replace the pack ponies and carts. Although the survey was carried out in 1773,[65] little was done until the 1780's. At the same time, the town council was obtaining estimates for bringing water to the town mills from the Backs water, an estimate of £244-11-3.[66] They considered applying to the Duke for help with the finances, but McDowall proved a better financier.

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[62] 31 May 1735, TCM, I.

[63] Queries as to the Coalworks at Campbeltown, 30 September 1749, S.C. 17679, f. 43.

[64] 4 November 1757, TCM, II.

[65] 20 July 1785, TCM, III.

[66] 10 June 1781, TCM, III.

The small streams of Craigs, Backs and Auchaleek were brought together at the joint expense of McDowall and the town in a cut two feet wide at the bottom and four feet at the top to a point "at which it shall be taken off by each party at their own expense to the canal and the mill dam."[67] In 1783, McDowall began his cut near the mill dam. The design called for two sluices of equal dimensions which would be opened alternately for an equal space of time to the cut leading to the coal canal and to that leading to the mill dam. Each paid £133-13-3.[68] The canal was constructed between 1783 and 1791. When finished it was 4.8 kilometers over level ground with no locks.[69] McDowall invested in three flat canal boats at £69.[70] It remained in operation, its success dubious, until it was replaced by the railway in the middle of the nineteenth century.

One large market for Scottish coal was Ireland in the eighteenth century. Ayrshire took the lion's share of this trade.[71] Irvine, Saltcoats, and Ayr were the main competitors for this lucrative market. Although Campbeltown magistrates might boast of "the best harbour" they could not boast of the best quality coal.[72] The customs accounts show many years when Campbeltown even imported coal from

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[67] 20 July 1785, TCM, III.

[68] 21 December 1785, TCM, III.

[69] The Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, Argyll, I (Kintyre), 201.

[70] Report of the Valuators, 19 March 1798, A.E.O.

[71] Duckham, History of Scottish Coal (1970), I, 255.

[72] Magistrates of Campbeltown to Lord Milton, 31 November 1752, S.C. 17679, ff. 136-7.

Ayrshire.[73] Campbeltown merchants frequently exported coal at the same time that they also imported it: a proof of the poorer quality of coal which could be used preferably only in industry. Even by 1772, after extensive trials and investments the coal production was not sufficient to satisfy the demands of Campbeltown.[74] The coal fold was located opposite to the new quay,[75] a convenient location perhaps for a cargo that was more suited to sea transport than land. One observer calculated that forty cartloads were approximately equal to one ton which meant that the town used about four and a half thousand tons of coal per annum.[76]

The alternative fuel used throughout the century was, of course, peat. When the "Count of Moss Rooms" was compiled in 1674 it would be the only fuel;[77] when it was still a common fuel at the end of the century, the county agriculturalist regretted the detrimental effects such a time-consuming labour had on the agriculture of the area.[78] As well as domestic uses, the coal was increasingly required for a growing industrial demand. Salt and coal works were often joined together in Scotland and few masters of the coal had no interest in salt. "Small" coals almost always found their way to the salt pans. Campbeltown's pans, although never very successful, did demand the Drumlemble coals when the pans were in

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[73] O.S.A., x, 566. See also E 504/8/2 - 7.

[74] Pennant, A Tour of Scotland, (1772), I, 224.

[75] 2 November 1736, TCM, I.

[76] Smith, General View of the Agriculture of Argyll, Edinburgh (1798), 10.

[77] A Count of Moss Rooms, TCM, I.

[78] Smith, General View of the Agriculture of Argyll, (1798), 274-5.

operation. Salt was used as a justification for the expense of installing an engine.[79] On one occasion burning lime was cited as a reason for keeping the mine going under the 2nd Duke of Argyll.[80] The distilleries were a growing market for the coal as they became more numerous in Campbeltown at the end of the eighteenth century. David Watson, distiller in the 1750's, always showed keen interest in promoting the local mines and he used the coal in his industry.[81]

Coal prices were relatively stable from 1700 to 1760 with great coal selling at eight and a half to nine pence per hundredweight in 1740. The small coal was five to six pence per hundredweight. This was about thirteen shillings per ton.[82] At that time Kintyre coal, which was thought to be all small coal, was selling at "two shillings and six pence per ton cheaper in the Irish mercat than the West country coal does for ordinary."[83] In hopes of raising the coal prices, the chamberlain advised dispensing with the upper seam in 1749 "which tends so much to the prejudice of the work."[84] By the end of the century Campbeltown coal was only getting about seven shillings per ton.[85] It is questionable, therefore, how profitable the coal mining ever was at Drumlemble. Kilpatrick evaluated the early mine:

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[79] See below, chapter 6.

[80] Memorial about the Coal at Campbeltown, 1753, S.C. Box 411, f.1.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Duckham, History of Scottish Coal (1970), I, 17 - 18.

[83] Queries as to the Coalworks at Campbeltown, 30 September 1749, S.C. 17679, f.42.

[84] Ibid., ff.41-42.

[85] O.S.A., x, 551.

> As it will be very expensive (installation of a fire engine) it must first be considered whether or not there can be sale got for such a quantity of coals with the proffits ariseing from making of salt which is expected will be considerable, as will in process of time repay the expense.[86]

The facts and figures of profit-making can be very deceiving, particularly given the distance of two hundred years. The surest way of judging the success of the mines is gauging the interest the mines raised in various periods; in other words, the enthusiasm of men to take over the tack or management of the coal mines at Drumlemble. This, "the early penetration of non-landed capital into the Scottish coal industry", is a little-studied subject.[87] It was common for the laird to run his mine more by lease than by direct involvement, but the degree of involvement varied enormously. Landed coal masters usually worked their collieries through managers. The Drumlemble mine was run with varying control from the Duke of Argyll. As early as 1682 there was an oversman at the coal mine.[88] The Dowager Duchess and the 2nd Duke employed unskilled or amateur coal managers. When the mines were at a low ebb, it was difficult to get a tacksman at all: "I believe they would be shy to proceed though they had the works rent free."[89] This, in effect, was exactly what the chamberlain was advocating. The difficulty was that they looked only in Campbeltown for a tacksman to take over the mines

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[86] Memorial by Robertson and Kirkpatrick, 30 September 1750, S.C. 17679, ff.116-8.

[87] Duckham, History of Scottish Coal (1970), I, 171.

[88] 1682, L.B.R., OPR 507/1.

[89] Archibald Campbell to the Duke of Argyll, 11 December 1738, S.L., iii, f.246, GD 14/10/3.

and the time had come for more skilled management from outwith Kintyre to be employed in order to gain the lower, more profitable, seams. The first skilled coal manager was the occasion of the earliest and most explicit contract between the owner and the lessee in Campbeltown, in this case James Kilpatrick and the Duke of Argyll in 1750. By the terms of the contract Kilpatrick was to repair the mines and salt pans, supplying all materials necessary for fitting them and repairing them. He could determine the most advantageous place for an engine and set down appropriate aqueducts. He was to employ proper tradesmen and to pay them ordinary wages. He could draw upon the Kintyre chamberlain for the weekly payments necessary for the workmen until the workings could answer such expense. Once set going he could employ grieves, oversmen, checks, sinkmen, miners, colliers, salters, and pay them. He could displace any grieves, oversmen, and checks and employ new ones at his pleasure and he could also search for any colliers or salters already belonging to the works and compel them to return, having deserters punished.

> The said chamberlain is not to have any concern in the management of the said work nor is James Kilpatrick to be accomptable to him for the same.[90]

He had sole charge reporting only to the Duke. Any disagreement would be referred to any two persons "who shall be coal masters skilled in such matters, one to be chosen by either party."[91] Kilpatrick was a salaried overseer at sixty pounds yearly plus a

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[90]Articles of Agreement between the Duke of Argyll and James Kilpatrick, 1750, S.C. 17679, ff. 122-127.

[91]Ibid., ff. 125-6.

free house and garden and enough ground to maintain a horse. He had to settle in Kintyre although he was allowed expenses for travelling on the Duke's affairs. He was to be paid ten per cent annually from the profits.[92] In this contract the investment was the Duke of Argyll's in paying workmen and repairs. The profit was also the Duke's with Kilpatrick getting only a percentage of it plus his salary. The management, however, was solely Kilpatrick's. When Kilpatrick's health failed during the decade of the 1750's, local magistrates called for change and progress. This demand to work the mines at this time is indicative of a growing demand for the coal in Campbeltown as a result of a prospering economy and a growing demand for the coal as an article of export by the local merchants, who were becoming increasingly adept at finding markets and financing their trade. These dozen merchant-maltmen called loudly for more trials.[93]

> The people here have not the least doubt that if there was once a sufficient going coall work a company may be easily got to take a lease of it from His Grace on reasonable terms and this the rather as Saltcoats coals is like to give way and a much better harbour here than at Saltcoats, Irvine or Air.[94]

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[92] Ibid.

[93] Report touching the coal in Kintyre, 13 November 1752, S.C. 17679, ff. 136-7.

[94] Ibid., f.137.

Samuel Mitchell, manager of the coal and salt works at Saltcoats, and William Mitchell, a merchant of Paisley, took the tack to the Campbeltown mines but did not make a success of it during their short and uneventful management.[95]

Less is known of McDowall's contract with the Duke but it would appear he had an even freer hand than Kilpatrick. He had the management of both pans and mines. He was a "man of substance" and more of the investment was apparently McDowall's than the Duke's in this contract.[96] McDowall paid a rent of thirty pounds for the mines but he was exempt from the rent for thirteen years. His contract from 1773 was of twenty-five years' duration. Presumably McDowall had sufficient funds to get the mine going again and the waiving of the rent was enticement to take the lease. Profit also appears to have been McDowall's.[97] It can be surmised that the local know-how was lacking as much as the necessary capital.

The first successful local venture into the mines was the coal company which took over from McDowall. The lease was for the west division of Drumlemble and the coal works there for thirty-eight years from 1798 with a clause allowing liberty to renounce the tack after the first seven years on giving at least one year's previous notice. Considerable discussion ensued over the tack to

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[95]Articles of a tack of the coal and salt works of Kintyre with William Mitchell and Samuel Mitchell, 1755, S.C. 17680, ff. 128-131.

[96]James Duncanson to Mr. George Gardner, Board of Customs, 25 September 1765, CE 82/1/2.

[97]Hamilton MSS, 14 February 1771, Burrel's Journals; Coal Company to D. Stewart, Chamberlain, 1804, **A.E.O.**

to Ballygreggan farm which McDowall had for keeping colliery horses and the company successfully attained it.[98] Members of the Coal Company were "all of Campbeltown": Daniel Clark, James Campbell, Archibald Galbraith, Andrew Ralston, William Harvey, James Harvey, John Dunlop, James Andrew, James Park, David Fergusson, Donald Munro, Allan Anderson, William Watson, James Harvey and Donald Campbell. The company was run by an experienced overseer. The Duke had five shares which, in fact, meant he received one tenth of the profits. Rent of the canal was sixty pounds and rent of the farm sixty-five pounds.[99] Significantly, the merchants of Campbeltown had almost complete control over the mine at this time with the Duke of Argyll merely holding shares and receiving a rental. Complaints by the tenants of Tonrioch and the Moy of the company's neglecting to repair bridges and aqueducts were handled by the company itself, not by the chamberlain. The investment was solely the company's as well with an inventory totalling £679-3-4 including all equipment, houses, and canal boats.[100]

A comparison with other mines shows that the Drumlemble mine worked on a small scale. Production and investment were less and profits generally lower. The Earls of Rothes were getting about £255 from the mines in about the middle of the eighteenth century. The Earls of Leven were getting anywhere from £335 to £834 for

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[98] Coal Company to James Ferrier, 8 September 1798, A.E.O.

[99] William Kerr, Manager of the Coalworks, to D. Stewart, Chamberlain, 1801, A.E.O.

[100] Inventory of the Fire Engine, Machinery, Utensils, Houses and others at the Coal works, 1805, A.E.O.

Barlinnie in the 1790's. The Earl of Weymyss from the Fordell colliery netted £500-£600 in the 1770's and 1780's.[101] Although the profits may have been on a small scale, the fact that Drumlemble continued working and that local interest could be raised meant some profit was being made. The main difficulty was always the quality of the coal and the distance from the markets. The coal was acceptable in furnaces, but Campbeltown was too far away from the industrial market. Even some of the Campbeltown distillers imported from the Lowlands. The fact that the coal was not in great demand for domestic use eventually led to the closure of the pit.

Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, little mention is made of the Campbeltown colliers and their conditions. From the terms of the contract of Kilpatrick's it is evident that the colliery was typical of the time in claiming as part and parcel of the works, the miners themselves. Not until 1775 did new hands entering Scottish collieries or salt works gain the right to be free. Only by 1799 was this privilege granted universally to miners and salters and after that act they were subject to binding. Since "the movement to free the Scottish collier owed more to economic than to religious or humanitarian principles"[102] there is little reason to think that the situation in Campbeltown differed from other Scottish collieries. Kilpatrick was "to search for any coalliers or salters already belonging to the said works and compel them to

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[101] Duckham, History of Scottish Coal (1970), I, 144-7.

[102] Ibid., I, 298

return thereto and in case any such who had been or shall be employed desert, he can have them punished."[103] The grieves, oversmen, checks, and sink men were employed on a freer basis. Bearers were used for most of the eighteenth century. In 1738, there were "forty-two families in the country employed about the works, and have their subsistence by it only."[104] When little enthusiasm was shown for the mines in the 1730's and early 1740's, the chamberlain was concerned should a discharge of all these workers "hurt mercats, shopkeepers, and mechanicks of all kinds and denominations in Campbeltown and probably reduce the number of inhabitants of the town."[105] The census of the Duke of Argyll's property in Kintyre in 1779 showed the population at the mines: six families at Knockantybeg; two at Ballegreggan; sixteen at the actual pits; and eighteen in Drumlemble village. A total of forty-two families.[106] No one lived at Mary Pans, the site of the salt pans. A 1792 census further broke down the statistics into men, women and children:

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Coal hill	39	41	63	143
Drumlemble	26	34	26	86
Dailquhasan	17	24	29	70
	82	99	118	299

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[103] Articles of Agreement between the Duke of Argyll and James Kilpatrick, 1750, S.C. 17679, f.123

[104] Archibald Campbell to Duke of Argyll, 1738, S.L. III, f.255, GD 14/10/3.

[105] Ibid.

[106] E. Cregeen (ed.), Inhabitants of the Argyll Estate, 1779, S.R.S., 1963.

Again none lived at Mary Pans.[107]

A ticket was the amount of coal the carrier could bear from the mines to the town. It has been calculated that one hewer and one bearer could extract between one and a half and two and a half tons of coal per day.[108] In other words a collier and bearer together were worth 300-350 tons of coal per annum for a four-day week or 375-625 for a five-day week.[109] In Campbeltown it was reckoned that if the wall was right a collier could cut about forty tickets of round coal for sale and thirty tickets of small coal for the pans weekly "if close at work".[110] If a ticket was a hundredweight, this would mean about four tons per week could be worked by each miner. The houses for the miners were in Drumlemble village and at the coal pits as the census showed. The tenancy of the farm of Ballegreggan was always sought after by the coal companies for several reasons. The farm was used for colliers' cows and animals and also for the grazing of the pit horses.[111] The carriers themselves possessed thirty-five acres among them and sometimes sublet them to inhabitants of the town. The town frequently "objected to the high rate these carriers charge though they only pay themselves thirteen shillings and sixpence

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[107] Census, Mull and Kintyre, Chamberlain's Accounts, Argyll, 1792, A.E.O. A copy in private papers of D. Colville.

[108] Duckham, History of Scottish Coal (1970), I, 275.

[109] Ibid., 276.

[110] Queries as to the Coalworks at Campbeltown, 30 September 1749, S.C. 17679, f. 43.

[111] Agreement between the Duke of Argyll and James Kirkpatrick, 1750, S.C. 17679, f. 123.

an acre."[112] The carriers' conditions were obviously considerably better than the miners'.

The efforts at mining at Drumlemble in the eighteenth century are a further indication of the desire in the Campbeltown area to become involved in trade and industry. The fact that the coal was not of a particularly good quality and not worth the transport to another area suggests that the demand for furnace-type coal was sufficient locally to make mining profitable well into the next century. The interest of local men in the mines, once the discovery of coals was confirmed, is further indication that Campbeltown merchants were ready to participate in any scheme which they thought might be profitable. Again, available capital was finding its way into a venture, an industrial in this case, rather than a trading one.

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[112]Chamberlain to Lord Milton, 1754, S.C. 16685, ff. 198-200.

CHAPTER 6

THE MANUFACTURE OF AND TRADE IN SALT

It is difficult in a modern economy to appreciate the pride of place that salt must have had in the homes and in the merchants' warehouses in the eighteenth century. Perhaps of all the commodities manufactured and traded at that time it was the most indispensable, for the preservation of all other foods depended upon its supply. Butter, cheese, pork, beef, and herring all required this commodity. Butter-and cheese-making both used salt for preservation whenever it could be obtained. Salted butter from Berwickshire was sold in Edinburgh, Berwick, and Dunbar in the 1790's and the butter from Renfrewshire was sold in Glasgow.[1] Irish producers realised the value of salted butter in the colonial markets packing the butter in tight firkin barrels containing fifty-six pounds and heavily covering it with Portuguese salt. The Irish also marketed their butter in England and Europe packed in hundred-weight casks and salted, though less heavily than the colonial butter.[2] The curd of cheese might be broken and salted, but towards the end of the eighteenth century, the scarcity of salt made that process impossible or at least a luxury.[3]

Kintyre exported considerable amounts of both butter and cheese, accounting for all of the three hundred pounds' worth that left Argyll in 1794.[4] The recipe used for salting butter at that time

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[1] Alexander Fenton, Scottish Country Life, Edinburgh (1976), 149.

[2] L.M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade (1968), 71-72.

[3] A. Fenton, Scottish Country Life (1976), 152.

[4] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 282.

was:

> Take two parts of common salt, one of sugar, and one of saltpetre; beat and blend them well together; and give one ounce of this mixture to fifteen ounces of butter. The butter should not be used for three of four weeks; but it will keep three or four years.[5]

The salt should have been thoroughly and minutely mixed into the softened butter, but the county agriculturalist observed that the proper proportions were not always used, "as a pound of salt is cheaper than a pound of butter, there is generally a greater quantity of the salt given to the butter than what would serve to cure it."[6] It was calculated that in Kintyre about a pound of salt was used to make twenty pounds of cheese. Salt was mixed in finely with the curds. The cheese also spent forty-eight hours in a salting tub and then seven or eight days on a salting bench.[7] The salt used for preserving the butter and cheese was subject to excise duty and the customs officers complained that "the greatest part of the butter and cheese of this country are cured with salt smuggled into it from Ireland."[8] They had the difficulty of determining which of the cargoes ready for export had been cured with smuggled salt and which cargoes were, in fact, legally cured. The colonial markets, Portugal, and Spain were the primary consumers of any of Kintyre's dairy products which in the latter half of the eighteenth century were occasionally exported.[9]

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[5] Ibid., 230.

[6] Ibid., 231.

[7] Ibid., 232.

[8] 20 September 1796, Collector to Board, CE 82/1/13.

[9] The Quarterly Accounts for Campbeltown contain several records of butter and/or cheese being exported in the latter half of the eighteenth century. One example will suffice; Butter, cheese, and potatoes were sent to Lisbon in 1759, E 504/8/2.

Salted beef and pork were also common articles both as daily food and, significantly, as stores on ships. The Argyll sailing for Philadelphia in 1754 carried twenty-four barrels of Irish beef cured with sixteen bushels of salt, or about two-thirds bushel per barrel of beef.[10] As with the butter, this seems a considerable amount considering the scarcity and expense of the salt, but presumably that quantity was necessary if the meat was to be preserved for any length of time. The herring busses required enormous amounts of salted meat to feed their crews for the three months at the fishing. The ships that sailed for the Greenland fishing grounds also carried salted beef. The Campbeltown carried beef cured with fourteen and two-thirds bushels of salt and the Argyll used twenty-two and two-thirds bushels for its provisions. Both ships sailed for the Greenland fishing.[11]

The greatest demand for salt throughout the second half of the eighteenth century was for curing fish, particularly herring although salmon, cod, and other white fish were also preserved in this way. The custom of preserving or pickling herring was an old one, originated by the Dutch, according to John Knox who made himself a recognised expert on the subject.[12] He made a detailed study of the different national methods of curing herring and attributed the discovery of the secret of pickling and drying herring to William Benkelen of

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[10] 8 July 1754; 10 October 1754, Q.A., E 504/8/2.

[11] 16 March 1752, Q.A., E504/8/2.

[12] John Knox, A View of the British Empire especially Scotland (2 vols.) London (1785), I, 256. Also John Knox, Observations on the Northern Fisheries, London (1786).

Biervlet in the fourteenth century. It was considered such a remarkable achievement, according to Knox, that even Charles V paid homage at Benkelen's tomb, "Such is the respect paid to those who pickle and barrel with dexterity."[13]

The Dutch achieved unrivalled supremacy in the herring market in the decades following Benkelen's "discovery." The superior quality of the Dutch herring compared with the Swedish, Norwegian, English, and Scottish products was due largely to the care taken in the preserving process. They covered the herring with salt the moment the fish came out of the net and gutted and cured their fish within twenty-four hours of catch. In addition to the regulations on packing - careful sorting, packing into tight barrels of oak, and refraining from smoking during the process - the care taken with the salt was greater than in any other country.[14] The quantity and the quality of the salt used in pickling could make the difference in the product. The Dutch salted their herring in no less a proportion than four barrels of salt to every "last" or twelve barrels of herring; in other words, one barrel of salt cured three barrels of herring.[15] Only refined salt was used. Certain salts were prohibited because of their poor quality, such as French salt from certain ports. St. Martins, the French source of Campbeltown salt,[16] was prohibited in Holland. The best salt came from Spain or Portugal. The Dutch insisted that even that salt should not be put into casks before cure-masters had

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[13]John Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), I, 256.

[14]Ibid., I, 276.

[15]Ibid, I, 261.

[16]Q.A., E 504/8/3 - 4.

examined it. Herrings taken after 26 July each year were salted with fine salt. After Bartholomew tide or 24 August, they were salted with fine salt and boiled with sea water.[17]

Salted herring was a common food on the west coast of Scotland and it would have been more common had duties permitted. The method of pickling was not as highly perfected nor as carefully regulated as was the Dutch preserving. Scottish fishermen used a smaller quantity of salt than the Dutch, about one and a quarter bushels of salt per barrel of herring.[18] There were few regulations on packing by comparison to the Dutch. The Dutch forbade "daunting" or jumping on the barrels for it broke the fish; whereas, many Scots packers thought this helped the curing process.[19] The main handicap to development of the industry, however, was always the difficulty in obtaining salt at a price that made the preserving sufficiently profitable.

The perfection of the process of curing herring and the manufacture ofsalt was of considerable importance to eighteenth-century Campbeltown merchants, for the town was among the three ports in Scotland which exported the most white herring from 1751 to 1781 and quite often it was the leading exporter, followed by Port Glasgow and Greenock.[20] The demand for salt was as great at Campbeltown as at any other port

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[17] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), I, 260-1.

[18] "First Report on the State of the British Fisheries" (May 1785) from S. Lambert (ed.), House of Common Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century, LIII, 387.

[19] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), I, 276.

[20] Ibid., II, 385-90. A table showing "An Account of British Herrings and Cod exported from Scotland from Christmas 1750, to Christmas 1782, distinguishing each year, and the ports from whence exported."

in Scotland. In 1765, twelve thousand and three hundred barrels of herring were exported; that alone would require more than three hundred barrels of salt. In addition to that was the demand for salt for preservation of the butter, cheese, beef, and pork both for home consumption and for export. Hundreds of barrels of cod and ling were also leaving the port salted for the West Indies. In 1765, between three and four hundred barrels were exported.[21]

Efforts to Manufacture Salt in Campbeltown

This demand for salt would certainly have been expected to be an encouragement to the development of the local salt manufacturing at Machrihanish. The salt "pans" were located on the west coast of the peninsula about a mile and a half from the coal mines at Drumlemble. A tack of about two acres to Knockantibeg farm contained the rights to the salt pans.[22] Some masonry of the salt works can still be seen on the shore in present-day Machrihanish. At that time the area was referred to as "Mary Pans", perhaps a corruption of the Gaelic word for sea.[23] Mary Pans was most often mentioned in the Campbeltown customs records of the eighteenth century as one of the places for shipping to and landing goods and cattle from Ireland.[24]

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[21] Ibid., II, 387.

[22] A. McKerral, Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century (1948), 147.

[23] A. McKerral to Father James Webb, 2 November 1752, Papers of Father James Webb.

[24] Two examples: Collector to Board, 18 August 1797, CE 82/1/13; Collector to Board, 8 November 1790, CE 82/1/10.

Production of salt from sea water was an old process whether achieved by natural distillation or by boiling. It has been estimated that production by boiling required an expenditure of about six tons of coal to make one ton of salt.[25] By the end of the seventeenth century, the salt pans along the Forth were consuming 150,000 tons of coal per annum.[26] Prestonpans, Grangepans, Bonhardpans, and Kennetpans were centres of the production on the Forth. On the west coast as well, salt pans made coal mining even more rewarding to the landowners and accounted for the frequent proximity of coal mines and tidal salt pans. Sir Robert Cunninghame of Auchinharvie ran the mines and pans at Saltcoats and established a harbour there with an active trade to Ireland at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[27]

The industry was established at Mary Pans at least by 1676 when George Davidson was living at the "salt pans" on Knockhanty.[28] Although there is no evidence, the panning process had probably been going on for a considerable time at that place before 1676. In 1694, James Stewart took a lease of the salt pans from the Earl of Argyll.[29] The pans appear to have been worked in conjunction with the mines at that time. There is no evidence of any great activity at the pans in the first four decades of the eighteenth century. In 1749, there

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[25] See Henry Hamilton, An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, Oxford (1963), 185 et. seq.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] 1676, L.B.R., I, OPR 507/1.

[29] H. Paton, ed., The Clan Campbell, I, 64.

was no salt pan along the Clyde, although the east coast was well supplied with salt pans. Reference is made to "Two very inconsiderable ones" located about twenty miles from Glasgow "which seem intended rather to consume the useless coals than make profit by the salt."[30]

At that time most white salt used on the west coast of Scotland for curing was imported from Ireland in very great quantities, "the populousness of the country and the curing of herrings and other fishes that are caught upon the coast making the demand very large."[31] It was cheaper to import Irish salt and pay the import duties than to pay the expense of a long land carriage from the east coast. Campbeltown would certainly find the Irish ports more convenient than the east coast of Scotland. As well as proximity, Irish salt had the advantage of quality over the Scottish equivalent.[32] Portuguese and Spanish salt was also imported via Ireland.[33] Such demand for salt would certainly have stimulated the Campbeltown salt pans had the salt been more suitable for curing the herring. Unfortunately, west coast salt produced by distillation from sea water was not suitable for curing the fat herring caught in the summer season. The demand for the superior Spanish and Portuguese salt for curing the fat herring was the greatest demand on salt, far greater than all the other consumers combined. If the locally-produced salt could only meet the secondary uses in the area, it was not worth producing.

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[30]Memorial for Robert Lang and Company, merchants in Glasgow, 1749, S.C. Box 407, f.2.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid.

A mixture of rock salt and distilled salt was found acceptable although it was still inferior to the Spanish and Portuguese salt. Modification of the salt industry from distilling sea water to refining rock salt would have been a solution, but it was hindered, if not actually prevented from developing in Scotland, by restrictions dating from the time of the Union:

> By the Act 2nd Anne it is provided, that no rock salt shall be refined into white salt unless in such places, as are within ten miles of the pits. But notwithstanding of this act, Liberty has been given at different times, by clauses in acts of Parliament to carry the rock salt to great distances in England, both by sea and land and it is allowed to export it to Ireland without any restriction saving a Certificate of its being Landed.[34]

This law protected the English salt manufacturing by not allowing rock salt to be transported more than ten miles from the pits to be refined. Since there was no source of rock salt on the west coast of Scotland, modification of the industry was impossible despite the ever-increasing demand. The only alternative was to stretch the quantity of imported rock salt by mixing it with Scots distilled salt, but it was found that

> The Irish salt is of a much better quality than the salt made in Scotland which proceeds from nothing but the mixture of rock salt that strengthens the brine and makes it sweeter.[35]

The petition of one company to be allowed to set up a salt refinery on the west coast of Scotland in 1749 named the adversaries of the salt manufacturer in Scotland. Robert Lang was petitioning to be allowed to bring rock salt to the place where he intended to refine

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

it. He stated that this liberty had been granted at different times in England and he noted that rock salt from England was exported to Ireland to be refined. The superficial objection to his petition appeared to come from the Board of Customs who feared the frauds that would ensue, although Lang predicted he would refine sufficient salt to yield a duty of a thousand pounds per annum. The primary objection, however, came from the Liverpool and other salt manufacturers who would lose by Scottish competition.[36]

The chamberlain of Kintyre supported Lang's petition, but nothing came of it.[37] At this very time, 1749, Mary pans was part of James Kilpatrick's lease to the coal mines at Drumlemble. Before he assumed tenancy three inspectors came to the town: one to survey the coals, one to "sound" the harbour, and one to inspect the pans.[38] A clause in Kilpatrick's contract stated that

> after the said coal work is set agoing and that coals are found sufficient to employ with salt pans . . . the said James Kilpatrick is also empowered to repair the said panns.[39]

As is other areas on the west coast, the adjoining pans were expected to make the mines all the more profitable by consuming the "small" coal.

> The proffits arising from making of salt which is expected will be very considerable as will in process of time repay the expense (of installing a fire engine).[40]

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Archibald Campbell to Lord Milton, 1749, S.C. Box 407, f.2.

[38] Archibald MacMillan to Lord Milton, 1749, S.C. 16667, ff. 116-7.

[39] Contract for Kintyre Coal between the Duke of Argyll and James Kilpatrick, 1750, S.C. 17679, f.122.

[40] Memorial by Robertson and Kirkpatrick, 1750, S.C. 17679, f.118.

In 1749, it was estimated that a collier could get thirty tickets of small coal for the panns weekly if "close at work".[41] A ticket was the approximate amount a carrier would bear in a sack.

> The pans are a mile from the pit and do for ordinary make thirty bolls or one hundred and twenty bushels of salt weekly and consumes about four hundred tickets of small coal when kept close going but they must be frequently idle especially in winter by reason of fresh water mixed with the brine and bad weather to carry the coals to them.[42]

This small coal had little other use in Campbeltown at this time and transport to any industrial centre was impractical.

The workers at the salt pans were bound to them in the same way the colliers belonged to the mines. By this contract Kilpatrick was obliged

> to search for any colliers or salters already belonging to the said works and to compell them to return thereto and in case any such who had been or shall be employed at the said works does desert or mutiny he is also empowered to have all such punished as law directs.[43]

Although Kilpatrick never actually got either the pans or the mines operating before his death, he did survey the works with a skill previously unknown in the area. Correspondence with the Kintyre chamberlain showed that there was as much concern with getting the salt pans begun as the mining.

The next skilled tacksman, Charles McDowall who leased the mines and salt works together from 1765,[44] made the coal a good going concern

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[41] Queries anent the coals at Campbeltown, 1749, S.C. 17679, f.17.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Contract for Kintyre Coal between the Duke of Argyll and James Kilpatrick, 1750, S.C. 17679, f.123.

[44] Lease for Coal Mines to "Charles McDowall, advocate", 1771, A.E.O.

and showed every sign initially of making the salt pans productive. It was assumed that as "soon the coal is found the salt will be sett agoing."[45] The expectation continued until 1774. The officer of salt duty at Mary Pans acted as landwaiter temporarily.[46] When he died a replacement was not appointed as there was "no salt made at Panns."[47] In 1774, even the salt watchman was dismissed, showing that the pans had been truly abandoned.[48] By that time the salt works were in ruins. A nineteenth-century traveller reported that the salt-making industry had closed down some sixty years before, about 1770.[49]

Throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century, the lack of a salt work in Campbeltown remained a handicap to the development of related occupations, such as fishing, mining, and dairying. In 1798, the lack of the industry which would have been such an integral part of the economy of the town was lamented:

> A salt work in this part of the country is not only much wanted, but indispensably necessary to the prosperity of the country. But this can never take place while the importation of rock salt is prohibited . . . . Might we not at least be allowed, as in Ireland, the liberty of importing rock salt.[50]

In the middle of the century, from 1749 onwards, local merchants and others such as Kilpatrick and McDowall, made every effort to start

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[45] James Duncanson and William Buchanan to the Board of Customs, 6 December 1765, CE 82/1/2.

[46] Boards Orders, 7 January 1766, CE 82/2/80.

[47] Collector to Board, 28 June 1768, CE 82/1/2.

[48] Collector to Board, 30 January 1774, CE 82/1/3.

[49] William Dobie, "Perambulations in Kintyre," (1833), cited in A. McKerral, Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century, (1948), 147; Remarks by Archibald Campbell, Chamberlain on the Draft of the Coal Tack of Kintyre, 1771, A.E.O.

[50] J. Smith, General View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 286.

the manufacture of this commodity which would have fit as naturally into the economy of Campbeltown as anywhere else in the west of Scotland. All of their efforts were hindered by cumbersome restrictions. The absence of a home supply of rock salt made the only possible alternative importation; therefore, salt was one of the items that the customs men in the port of Campbeltown handled most frequently, as a legal and an illegal import.

Campbeltown's Trade in Salt

The same interests that sought to protect English salt manufacturers from Scottish competition in refining salt also lobbied for high duties that would protect the English home industry from foreign competition. Salt was not only difficult but extremely expensive to import. In effect, trade laws were oppressive to the extreme of promoting an illicit trade. By the Treaty of Union, Scots were permitted to import English salt free of excise duty, but subject to a customs duty of seven shillings four pence for every fifty bushels. The excise exemption applied only if the salt was used for curing herring, and only then if both the herring cured and the unused salt were sent back to England.[51] The duty of three shillings four pence on every barrel of herring sent to England made that trade unprofitable.[52] In 1753, the law was changed to allow foreign salt to be imported duty free if used for curing herring.[53] The salt had to be kept in the

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[51] "First Report of the British Fisheries," 1785, 6 et seq.

[52] Ibid.

[53] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), I, 224.

customs house until it could be accounted for in curing, still a costly procedure although preferrable to paying ten shillings per bushel duty. This distinction between salt used for herring and salt used otherwise led to the increased misuse of the duty-free salt. By way of fees, the salt importer would pay one shilling six pence for the certificate of salt and herring being landed and seven shillings six pence for the salt bond.[54] In 1782, it was proposed that the customs officers should receive a further two guineas for an account of a thousand bushels or more and a half guinea for less than that amount.[55] That resolution, proposed by the Campbeltown customs house, appeared never to come into effect.

Fishermen, and the populace in general, were at the mercy of conflicting interests of state which sought to reap revenue from the trade in salt and also to protect the English salt manufacturers.[56] When additional duties on salt were suggested in 1780 with no exemption for herring curing, the buss merchants, by then a large and powerful lobby in themselves, managed to make their objections heard. Campbeltown merchants joined with Port Glasgow and Greenock counterparts to oppose the idea.[57] The harmful effects of the salt duties in Campbeltown were felt, despite the exemptions for herring for export. Outcries against the penalties imposed upon this trade in the west of Scotland were loud, although unheeded for many years. The county

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Collector to the Board, 11 November 1782, CE 82/1/6. H. Hamilton, Economic History of Scotland (1963), 114 et. seq.

[56] Ibid.

[57] 23 May 1780, TCM, III.

agriculturalist was one particularly outspoken critic of the system:

> Our fisheries can never thrive until the salt laws are altered. As they stand at present, they are oppressive to the subject and unproductive to the government . . . . Salt, in a country which depends so much upon fishing as this does . . . . ought to be free from every restraint.[58]

This view was strongly seconded by the chief spokesman for the herring buss fishing in Scotland, John Knox, who agreed that "in order to re-establish a great and permanent fishery in these capacious seas it will be expedient to repeal the salt laws."[59] In fact, he called the ill-calculated laws and duties laid upon salt "the greatest impediment to the progress of the British fisheries."[60]

The herring buss fishermen were loudest in their complaints about the salt duties, and they were a hindrance in their own way to the natural development of the fishing industry on the west coast of Scotland.[61] However, the needs of the people for such a requirement so short in supply and so expensive to obtain can not be exaggerated. Salt in the eighteenth century was a necessity of life and as long as the salt carried a heavy import duty the county agriculturalist reflected that

> the poor must continue to groan, and the fisherys in the Highlands languish: all the benevolent schemes of building fishing villages and other plans for improving these coasts, must forever be defeated, while the present laws are in force.[62]

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[58] J. Smith, General View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 286.

[59] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), I, 333.

[60] Ibid., I, 311.

[61] See below, chapt. 4.

[62] J. Smith, General View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 288.

The richer inhabitants, who were able to fit out large vessels, could comply with all the customhouse regulations, but the poor found the expense of complying with the laws prohibitive. The customhouse might be fifty miles away, too far for an open boat to manage once, let alone the several times required by the regulations:

> It is almost impossible for human ingenuity to devise any law more oppressive to the industrious poor of these parts than that by which the salt for curing fish is at present regulated.[63]

John Knox, a recognised advocate of the British fisheries, could be relied upon to support and even to exaggerate any cause that might further that industry; John Smith, however, was more disinterested and concerned with the economy of Argyll. He was, in fact, not even a supporter for the British fisheries as it operated under the bounty system.[64] That he struck out so vehemently at the salt duties attests to the genuine hardship these laws must have been to trade and industry in the town at this time and to the welfare of the populace in general.

Despite the fact that these trade laws were meant to make the importation of English salt enticing, Campbeltown's customs records showed that very little salt was imported from England. Such imports were usually accidental, by shipwreck. In 1739, the Bounty of twenty-four tons from Liverpool brought salt and tobacco when it sought shelter in the harbour.[65] The Sarah of Belfast found its way to Islay accidentally with twelve tons of English salt. The customs officer

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[63] Ibid.

[64] O.S.A., x, 552-3.

[65] Collector to the Board, 15 October 1739, CE 82/1/1. This reference is contained with later records.

informed the master that the salt could either be reshipped to Ireland or sold with a duty of three shillings four pence per bushel.[66] A vessel Ross of Campbeltown carrying rock salt from Liverpool was brought into port by gales. Since the ship was a considerable way off its course to Cork, and a Campbeltown ship at that, it is tempting to suspect an illicit cargo in that case.[67] Accidentally or illicitly English ships came to Campbeltown with salt, but not on a regular basis. The government certainly did not reap a revenue on English salt imported into the town.

Imported salt, French, Irish, Portuguese and Spanish, were the most commonly used, since "no British salt has the strength to cure the fat herrings caught here in summer."[68] French salt was the least favoured of foreign salts. On one occasion busses returned to port before the end of the season, claiming that "their salt being French did not answer their expectations."[69] By far the most popular source was Ireland, whether the merchant was seeking Portuguese, Spanish, or indeed Irish salt. The Irish manufactured a salt superior to that of the Scottish salt; they could import English salt with a lower duty;[70] and they were also able to import foreign salt with a lesser duty than Scotland.

It is a dangerous speculation to attempt to calculate quantities on the basis of the figures in the quarterly accounts. A comparison

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[66] Board to Collector, 22 January 1778, CE 82/2/83.

[67] Collector to Board, 8 March 1810, CE 82/1/22.

[68] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), I, 273.

[69] Collector to Board, 4 March 1766, CE 82/1/2.

[70] Memorial for Robert Lang and Company, 1749, S.C. Box 407, f.2.

to other imports is perhaps a better way of gaining an idea of the trade involved. From the beginning of the accounts in 1743, salt was the most regular import, topping the list of imports in most quarters. Even at its most irregular, as in the years 1763 to 1769 when figures fluctuate from twenty-eight cargoes to three in the poorest year, salt was still the most popular import. The following table derived from the figures in the quarterly accounts can not be taken as definitive, but only as an approximation of the volume of the legal salt cargoes entering the port of Campbeltown from 1749 to 1790:[71]

1749	4	1763	16	1777	2
1750	6	1764	6	1778	4
1751	5	1765	10	1779	no records
1752	-	1766	28	1780	no records
1753	9	1767	5	1781	1
1754	6	1768	4	1782	4
1755	11	1769	3	1783	2
1756	10	1770	16	1784	6
1757	1	1771	3	1785	12
1758	3	1772	6	1786	4
1759	2	1773	6	1787	-
1760	1	1774	10	1788	2
1761	3	1775	17	1789	1
1762	12	1776	5	1790	-

The sources of salt were most often Dublin or Cork and less frequently Belfast.[72]

Certain Campbeltown merchants went straight to the origin for their salt: Oporto, Lisbon, St. Ubes, Bilbao, or Figura in Portugal, or Cadiz in Spain, much less frequently. The following table gives some indication of the type of trade that had developed in the middle

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[71]Compiled from figures in the quarterly accounts, September 1743 to 1790, E 504/8/1 - 7.

[72]Ibid.

of the eighteenth century when the herring buss fishing was at its most enthusiastic:

Date	Vessel	Source	Cargo	Merchant
10 July 1747	Improvement	Belfast	Portuguese Salt	John Nisbet
3 August 1747	Loyal Watson	Dublin	Portuguese Salt	William Buchanan
7 May 1748	Nisbet	Dublin	Portuguese Salt	William Buchanan
5 September 1748	Friends Desire	Dublin	Portuguese Salt	William McKinlay
16 May 1749	Ann	Lisbon	Salt, lemons, wine, Oranges, figs	William Buchanan John Finlay
30 May 1749	Friends	Lisbon	Salt, wine	William Buchanan
7 August 1749	Robert and Mary	Dublin	Spanish salt	William McKinlay
5 September 1749	Peggy and Jean	Dublin	Spanish salt	William Buchanan
21 December 1749	Mary Ann	Dublin	Portuguese salt	Donald Stevenson
25 March 1750	Peggy and Mary	Cork	Spanish salt	William Buchanan
2 August 1750	Recovery	Dublin	Spanish salt	William McKinlay
29 August 1750	Friends Desire	Dublin	Spanish salt	Daniel Fleming Edward Orr
13 September 1750	Charlotte	Dublin	Spanish salt	Daniel Fleming Edward Orr
29 September 1750	Campbeltown	Cork	Spanish salt	William Buchanan
8 April 1751	Jean	Belfast	Spanish salt	James Dunlop
12 April 1751	Margaret	Belfast	Spanish salt	David Ralston
17 June 1751	Carwhin	Cadiz	Salt	William McKinlay
12 July 1751	Campbeltown	Cork	Spanish salt	William Buchanan
25 July 1751	Happy Return	Dublin	Spanish salt	Archibald Campbell
19 August 1751	Charlotte	Dublin	Spanish salt	Francis Farquharson
30 September 1751	Recovery	Dublin	Portuguese salt	Francis Farquharson
24 June 1752	Hamilton	Bilbao	Salt, wine, vinegar, raisins	John Richardson
2 September 1752	Prince of Wales	Cork	French and Spanish salt	Francis Farquharson
5 September 1752	Recovery	Dublin	Spanish salt	Francis Farquharson
26 September 1752	Peggy and Mary	St.Martins	Salt	Alexander McMillan
28 September 1752	Lochnell	Dublin	French and Spenish salt	Colin Campbell

After 1753, the salt imports become far too numerous to list. The imports continue to be mostly Spanish salt imported primarily from Ireland, mainly Dublin. Increasingly Campbeltown merchants sailed to

Lisbon and imported fruits and wine along with the salt. Although these general tendencies can be detected, there was certainly no pattern to the trade.[73]

Neither did the transactions of a single merchant reveal any pattern. In the 1760's, Robert Orr who was much involved in the herring buss fishing accounted for the greatest amounts of salt imported into the port of Campbeltown. The following table gives some idea of his transactions in this one cargo:

Date	Vessel	Source	Cargo
August 1762	Charming Jean	Lisbon	Salt
August 1763	Endeavour	Lisbon	Salt
July 1764	Charlotte	St. Martins	Salt
September 1766	Endeavour	Lisbon	Salt
August 1770	Swan	St. Martins	Salt
August 1774	Swan	St. Ubes	Salt

Presumably, Robert Orr imported the salt when he required it. He looked to the most convenient source for each voyage, Portugal or Spain when the journey could be financed.[74]

The one common feature among all the importers of salt was their involvement in the herring buss fishing.[75] They were the familiar names that appeared in the town council minutes for other endeavours as well. William Buchanan, William McKinlay, William Finlay, and David Watson, who were all the town magistrates in the 1750's, had strong interests in the trade. The most active merchants most often

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[73]Specific items from the quarterly accounts are identified by dates of sailing and landing as accurately as the records allow. September 1743 - September 1748, E 504/8/1. September 1748 - October 1757, E 504/8/2.

[74]1757 - 1766, E 504/8/3; 1766 - 1771, E 504/8/4; 1771 - 1777, E 504/8/5. The Quarterly Accounts for these years run from October to October.

[75]See below, chapter 4.

imported directly from Portugal or Spain, presumably because they were the ones with sufficient capital to finance such a journey and to sustain the risks involved. Robert Orr, Charles McNeill, and John Campbell were the merchants who followed the trade directly to Portugal and Spain. A great variety of vessels were used to transport the salt and they might be used by different merchants in different years. Three Campbeltown ships, the Charlotte, the Endeavour, and the Swan were the most commonly mentioned. The most active quarter of the year for the trade was the one ending 10 October; secondly, the December quarter. These were the times most suitable for getting the salt to the port in time for the start of the buss fishing, which began in Scotland in late summer and continued through the autumn.

That the American War of Independence greatly inflated the price of salt was not surprising as the journey to Portugal and Spain was made more hazardous. Portuguese salt before the war was about one shilling six pence.[76] The price of salt was always one of the most formidable costs of outfitting a vessel for the herring fishing. It was estimated that a buss of sixty tons burden would pay four pounds ten shillings per last or twelve barrels, making the total cost of the salt about forty-five pounds, a considerable investment in the eighteenth century.[77] Throughout the latter half of century, however, the greatest expense of purchasing salt remained paying the duties. It is worth noting that the value of the commodity itself, as produced in England and without any long sea journey involved, was relatively slight:

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[76] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), I, 203.

[77] Ibid., I, 230.

> The duty on that species of English salt which is used in the cure of fish for exportation, is 1,200%; a ton of such salt in the hands of the maker being worth about one pound, while the duty upon it amounts to about twelve pounds, making it all about thirteen pounds per ton: and the duty on foreign salt, used for the same purpose, bears a still higher proportion to the prime cost of the article.[78]

That the trade of this "valuable" article continued at all, much less with such great enthusiasm, is surprising given the obstacles the participating merchants had to overcome.

Campbeltown's Illegal Trade in Salt

The laws making Scottish production of salt on the west coast of Scotland impossible coupled with the great demand for the article, the heavy duties on foreign imports, the complicated customs regulations, and the resulting high prices, made salt a prime article for illicit trading. The era of smuggling coincides with the period of greatest demand, that is when the herring fishing was at its height. In the first half of the century little smuggling occurred, at least as far as the Irish evidence showed.[79] There was occasional evidence of small frauds such as soap, spirits, and salt carried illegally in vessels engaged in other trades. There was no record of any salt smuggled in the first half of the century through Campbeltown, although admittedly the lack of records rather than the lack of smuggling could be the prime

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[78] "First Report on the State of British Fisheries" (1785), 17.

[79] L.M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade (1968),147.

reason for this.[80] It is difficult to make definitive statements given the absence of records, but there is reason to believe that Scottish salt manufactureres were meeting most of the needs of the people in the first half of the century and Mary Pans could match Campbeltown's demand. The distilled salt manufactured at Mary Pans would have been suitable for preserving butter, cheese, beef, and pork. The herring fishing did not reach its years of expansion until mid-century.

The increase in the illicit trade coincides with the encouragement given to the herring fishing and the demand for quality salt with some rock salt content. In the Campbeltown customs records the smuggling accounts occur with the most frequency from about 1770 onwards into the nineteenth century. The high excise duties on salt in England made it profitable to smuggle salt back to England after landing it in Ireland.[81] Many vessels sailed outward from Ireland without clearance and then smuggled their cargoes into Scotland all along the west coast. There is perhaps a case for suggesting that "the proprietors of the Scottish salt works tended to exaggerate the extent of the smuggling in their representations to the Customs Commission in Edinburgh in order to persuade a change of law in their favour."[82]

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[80] Quarterly Accounts for Campbeltown begin in 1743, E 504/8/1. The correspondence between the Collector in the Campbeltown Customs House and the Board of Customs in Edinburgh begins in 1749, CE 82/1/1.

[81] L.M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade (1768),147.

[82] Cullen suggests that this view has its advocates and that, in fact, the illegal trade was not as great as the evidence from such petitioners would suggest. Ibid. One such petition is the Memorial for Robert Lang and Company, 1749, S.C. Box 407, f.2.

However, the number of critics of the system who gave evidence for the parliamentary inquiry, testified that the illegal trade was, in fact, of considerable volume. The blame was always placed on the cumbersome regulations.[83] It was estimated that at least 500,000 persons in Scotland never used anything other than smuggled salt.[84] Another owned up to smuggling for himself no less than 972 tons of salt in one year.[85]

Evidence of the Campbeltown records concurs with the opinion that it would be difficult to exaggerate the amount of illicit trade. Certainly it was a primary concern to the customs men throughout the latter half of the century. It surpassed their concern for whisky smuggling and illicit distillation until the nineteenth century. The prevalence of the salt smuggling finally resulted in the 1805 law which appointed revenue cruisers on the west coast to prevent this one particular illicit trade.[86] Frequent mentions in the correspondence between the collector in Campbeltown and the Board of Customs in Edinburgh reiterated the extent of the smuggling. The collector wrote

> that the vicinity of Ireland to this country renders it impracticable to prevent the running of salt, notwithstanding the strictest attention is paid by the officers and every check given to that illicit trade that can be done.[87]

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[83] "First Report on State of British Fisheries" (1785), 1 et. seq.

[84] Ibid., 13.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Act.45 Geo. III. Cap.14. Collector to Board, 4 November 1807, CE 82/1/19.

[87] Collector to Board, 26 November 1791, CE, 82/1/11.

The collector of Campbeltown was of the opinion that the greatest part of the butter and cheese in the area was cured with smuggled or illicit salt.[88] On another occasion the Campbeltown collector noted that it was

> not uncommon practice for vessels from Greenock to clear out for the fishing with salt and barrels and to reland the whole but a few.[89]

The salt would be permitted to clear out of the port on fishing vessels duty-free; it would be an even more valuable commodity when it was illicitly landed somewhere along the coast. The Campbeltown collector would know all the dodges and loopholes in the laws at this trying time.

The source of illicit salt was almost always Ireland, as far as the discovered plots reveal. The customs officers repeatedly noted that the proximity of Ireland made it a very difficult trade to detect. Landings from Ireland could be made in several sheltered places on the west coast of Kintyre from Dunaverty in the south to Tarbert in the north, often far from the watch of customs officers in Campbeltown. The few tideswaiters appointed to oversee the west coast at Dunaverty, Mary Pans, and Tarbert could not be in all places simultaneously. The customs records, particularly in the 1790's, are filled with accounts of seizures of Irish salt. In June 1790, an open boat from Glenavan was seized with "pounds of Irish salt."[90] A more spectacular catch for the customs officers was the discovery of twelve boats from Larne with salt in November of that year.[91]

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[88] Collector to the Board, 20 September 1796, CE 82/1/13.

[89] Collector to the Board, 8 November 1790, CE 82/1/10.

[90] Collector to the Board, 17 June 1790, CE 82/1/10.

[91] Collector to the Board, 21 November 1790, CE 82/1/10.

Quantities varied from the five bags of Irish salt seized on Main Street[92] to seventy-eight bushels, forty-two pounds from Glenavan.[93] The frequency of this illicit trading continued through the eighteenth and into the next centuty:

> Salt from Ireland in bags of one or two hundredweight is yet imported along the east and west coast of Kintyre extending about thirty miles, not only for the curing of butter and cheese and for other family use, and to fishers on the coast, though this is still considerable, and the quantity within the means of our Information, yet this species of smuggling is extremely diminished since the regulations took place as to March 1805 . . . . by the appointment of cutters for the suppression of that branch of smuggling, which is chiefly carried on by open boats of from eight to twelve tons burthen.[94]

Since there are many reports of seizures after the appointment of the cruisers, it suggests that the revenue men were becoming more successful in detecting and catching the smugglers rather than an increase in the smuggling itself.

One or two methods of evading laws and duties the customs men detected, although they still had difficulty in preventing them occurring, Salt was smuggled on a large scale by fleets such as the ten or twelve boats in Larne in 1796 waiting "for the first favourable wind of pursuing their fraudulent intentions of running cargoes of Irish salt into Scotland."[95] It was not uncommon for vessels "to clear out for the fishery" with supposed barrels of salt, the barrels actually containing sand ballast. The vessels would sail for an Irish port, such as Larne, and empty the barrels of sand and take on the same

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[92]Collector to Board, 20 August 1790, CE 82/1/10.

[93]Collector to Board, 18 September 1807, CE 82/1/19.

[94]Collector to Board, 4 November 1807, CE 82/1/19.

[95]Collector to Board, 8 November, 1790, CE 82/1/10.

quantity of salt and go to the Highlands to sell the salt where it was most in demand for the fishing. There they purshased herring already cured, returned to port, and accounted for the "salt" originally cleared out.[96] On one occasion barrels of salt were landed from the buss Success. One hundred and twenty-five barrels were branded "herring"; whereas, twenty-five of them contained salt. Their purpose was to secure the bounty on the total number of barrels as herring and also to have twenty-five barrels of the valuable salt.[97] Great and numerous frauds were committed "in carrying on a contraband trade of salt and other such commodities under pretence of carrying on the fishery."[98] Another type of smuggling that worried customs officers but which was virtually impossible to prevent was the importation of fishery salt duty-free from Ireland which was then used for home consumption. Despite the many regulations designed to prevent that illegal practice, another loophole always appeared.[99]

The illegal trade was carried on in all types of busses and open boats; most often the very vessels that went to the herring fishing. The participants were often the merchant adventurers themselves in the large scale smuggling attempts, as well as anyone else who saw profit in the business. The smuggling was often connected with other high-duty items, such as soap, whisky, or tallow. The smuggling might occur at any time of the year, but summer accounts appear most numerous as would be expected with open boats sailing

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[96] Ibid.

[97] Collector to Board, 2 March 1802, CE 82/1/16.

[98] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), I, 328.

[99] Collector to Board, 3 March 1811, CE 82/1/23.

in better weather and herring busses obtaining their salt for the season's fishing. The Campbeltown salt smuggling further confirms the view that eighteenth-century Scottish smugglers did not regard themselves as such. They were "free traders" avoiding the cumbersome and expensive regulations. The amount of "free trade" is more difficult to determine obviously than the legal trade. Certainly the customs correspondence suggests a considerable amount from the large scale methods discovered and these were only the methods detected. The great demand for salt and the high duty on the commodity reinforces the opinion that there would certainly be a great amount of free trade.

The procedure for importing salt was a complicated one. The curer had to report its import at a customs house and pay the duty of seven shillings four pence on every fifty bushels, giving a bond that it would be used only in the curing of fish under the penalty of ten shillings per bushel. For such a bond he had to pay seven shillings and six pence. He also had to pay a thirty shilling fee for sufferance for what he would ship to the fishery. If he returned with his fish cured, he paid two pence on each barrel of herring he then exported. If the curer had any salt unused, he must settle his salt account annually before 5 April for which there was an additional fee. If he sent salt to another port he required a coast bond for which he also paid a fee.[100] As one Campbeltown merchant recognised:

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[100]"First Report on State of British Fisheries"(1785), 6.

> When the complex state of the salt laws in Scotland is considered, it is matter of wonder that the fisheries have not sunk entirely under the difficulties, delays, and heavy expense which they occasion.[101]

Persons located any distance from a customs house, as the majority of Highland fishermen would have been, would find it impossible to adhere to these expensive regulations without considerable expense and inconvenience. It was recognised that the system of salt laws

> totally debars the poor from ever having it in their power to obtain one bushel of such salt (duty free), with which salt only herrings can be cured for a foreign market.[102]

The lack of salt in the west coast generally in the latter half of the eighteenth century was a situation entirely brought about by the greed of a government that sought to reap an outrageous profit on both the trade and manufacture of salt. Although Campbeltown had the means - that is the operational salt pans and the small coals in the vicinity to supply the pans - to manufacture its own salt, the restrictions on the import of rock salt handicapped the modification of the salt pans to suit the requirements of the herring buss fishermen who were the greatest consumers of the salt at that time. Although the locally manufactured salt was suitable for the other uses of the day, preserving the butter, cheese, beef, and pork, the great demand for a superior quality of salt for the fat herring made the local manufacture pale by comparison.

Equally cumbersome were the government regulations which made it impossible to import salt, even for the curing of herring for export,

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[101] Ibid.

[102] "First Report on State of British Fisheries" (1785), 12.

without fulfilling lengthy, complicated, and costly procedures at the customs house. Whether the salt was Irish, Portuguese, Spanish, or French at the end of the day it was worth many times its original value by the time it was imported from its place of manufacture into the hands of the curer in Campbeltown. Its value was inflated beyond the bounds of acceptability. The result was an illegal trade in salt which, although impossible to determine precisely, appeared as active in many respects as the legal trade. Understandably the illegal traders preferred to call themselves "free" traders.

CHAPTER 7

Development of the Distilling Industry in Campbeltown

> Next to fishing of herrings, the business most attended to in Campbeltown, is the distilling of whisky,[1]

the author of the statistical account of the parish of Campbeltown recorded in 1794. Unfortunately, the early development of the industry in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth century is not easy to trace for lack of written records; even by the end of the eighteenth century when Campbeltown's efforts at other economic ventures were being fully examined and documented, there was a dearth of written evidence on distilling. Compared to the efforts made in establishing a buss fishing industry, the efforts at distilling were regarded as a poor relation by travellers, observers, agricultural improvers, and statisticians. The majority of distillers themselves found it increasingly in their own interest that the industry should be as little examined as possible as the excise duties steadily rose from 1760. Not until the 1790's did the government begin to make a serious examination of distilling.[2] Yet throughout the eighteenth century the "home industry" of aquavitae was part and parcel of the livelihoods of most of the tenants and of the businesses of most of the town's maltmen.

There is no means of determining the quantities made and the usage of whisky before the eighteenth century in the Kintyre area.

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[1] O.S.A., x, 556.

[2] Papers Relative to the Distilleries in Scotland, (2 vols.), 1799. This collection of materials compiled "in order to settle duties and discern comparative advantages and disadvantages certain distillers had in the period up to 1798", has been used as the basis for this chapter.

The first written account of whisky or aquavitae came from the "pursmaister" of the Thane of Cawdor in 1591:

> In Taylone the xx day of September, 1591
> deliverest to Makconchie Stronechormichers man
> same day that brocht the aquaviytae
> vis viijd.[3]

The reference is almost certainly to be to Tayinloan, a village eighteen miles north of Campbeltown and the convenient stepping-off place to Gigha, the island the Thane of Cawdor had purchased the previous year from Angus McConeill of Downevaigie for three thousand merks. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, two references can be found to the liquor. In the Statutes of Icolmkill of 1609 in order to combat the ill effects on the behaviour of the West Highlanders from imported wines and spirits, only the consumption of home-made drink was permitted.[4] Of more relevance to the Campbeltown area was the second reference, the first licence to distill whisky commercially, granted to John Boyll of Ballochmartin in 1609 in his charter to the lands at Ceann Loch Kilkerran.[5]

The nature of the beverage at this stage in the history is debatable. With malt almost certainly made on most farms in Kintyre in the seventeenth century, distillation was only one further step. Both oats and bear were used for making the malt, but the bear variety was considered the best, and in the rentals in which malt was always an important item of the produce the landlord usually stipulated

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[3] D. Colville, "Origin and Romance of the Distilling Industry in Campbeltown," (1923), a paper presented to the Kintyre Antiquarian Society. Copy in the Free Library of Campbeltown.

[4] Ibid.

[5] N.L.S., Ms. 31-3.

that not more than a certain percentage of the malt was to be made from oats.[6] The county agriculturalist explained that bear differed from barley in having four rows; whereas the barley had only two.[7] The bear was apparently grown in preference to any other crop for the specific purpose of distilling by that time.[8] The aquavitae which the Earl of Argyll sent to the Earl of Lauderdale in 1667 was described as being "flavoured by the plant called in Gaelic curmeil or wild liquorice."[9] For the rental of the farm of Crosshill in the seventeenth century for grazing cattle and for possibly growing corn, the burgesses of the early town paid "the curious rent of six quarts aquavitae."[10]

Aquavitae appeared on the first table of petty customs for the burgh, one shilling exacted for each gallon exported from the town except in time of fair when the charge was two shillings.[11] By the early part of the eighteenth century, the amount of the drink consumed in Campbeltown was causing considerable concern in the town council. One of the earliest minutes of the council included the appointment of inspector to detain the persons guilty of "odious swearing and excessive drinking."[12] This "curse of the county" Kintyre shared with

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[6] A. McKerral, Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century (1948), 145.

[7] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 109.

[8] I.A. Glen, "A Maker of Illicit Stills," Scottish Studies (1970), 14: 68.

[9] Argyll-Lauderdale Letters, Bannatyne Club, 69. Reference in A. McKerral, Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century (1948), 145.

[10] Acc.Reg.Arg. (1643) in A. McKerral, Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century (1948), 38.

[11] 30 April 1701, TCM, I. See Appendix 3.

[12] 24 April 1701, ibid.

other potentially productive agricultural areas such as Caithness. Penny weddings, cursings and swearings, breakings of the Sabbath were complaints the councillors of Thurso had in the early eighteenth century and Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply attempted to discourage distilling as much as possible.[13] In the minutes of the town council of Campbeltown was an act prohibiting such events as penny bridals and cumerings.[14] By 1708, the number of "inns" selling liquor was of such a large number that the council enacted that to qualify as an inn the proprietor must keep at least one bed for strangers.[15] In 1722, an act was passed against youthful drinking and gambling in such games as "hotloof".[16] A few years later the Council attempted to prohibit late wakes of the dead which were "for no other purpose than to eat and to drink often to disgraceful excess."[17] If drunkenness was the prevailing vice of the century, Campbeltown seemed to have more than its fair share of it even in these early decades.

A degree of similarily of spirits in strength was aimed for even in the early years of the eighteenth century. The council passed an act in 1713 "Anent the Sufficiency of Waters." The complaint was the sale of "waters" which were underproof:

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[13] J. Donaldson, Caithness in the Eighteenth Century, Edinburgh (1938), 31-2.

[14] 10 May 1705, TCM, I. The penny bridals were wedding festivities in which the guests contributed to the cost of the entertainment. "Cumerings" or "cummerings" appeared to be celebrations of births or baptisms.

[15] 15 November 1708, TCM, I.

[16] 6 March 1722, TCM, I.

[17] 12 May 1727, TCM, I.

> The greatest part of distillers not only do cheat ye people but likeways vastly prejudge neighbours that brew suffit waters.[18]

Three men were appointed as "visitors of ye sufficiency of spirits." A few years later, the act of prohibiting the import and sale of any foreign spirits, was signed by distillers along with brewers, maltmen, and retailers.[19] Although the act was probably not very successful in achieving its intent, it did serve to show the interest in the home industry at that time, accompanied by the signatures of fifty individuals.

The success of the maltmen in the town in the decades of the middle of the century can be seen as an indication of the growing amount of distilling as well as brewing taking place. The making of whisky was subject as well to the increasing control which the town council exercised over various endeavours. In 1738, the number of inspectors of liquors was increased to nine, three to act solely as judges of sufficiency of malt liquors. The clerk was instructed to send for a spirit proof of ivory.[20] Although no mention of distilled liquor was made in the records of the town for the next fifteen years, it can be assumed that the distillers, small-scale though their industry might have been, were prospering under the same advantageous conditions as the maltmen of Campbeltown who experienced their most successful decade in the healthy grain harvests of the 1740's. In 1747, when many men took to malting because of the surplus and consequent low price of grain, the amount of distilling increased as well. The excise duties at this time were not a strongly

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[18] 13 January 1713, TCM, I.

[19] 15 March 1719, TCM, I.

[20] 10 October 1738, TCM, II.

prohibitive factor; in fact, it is more than likely that the success in malting and distilling in the 1740's in Scotland probably opened the eyes of the government to this potential source of revenue and initiated the series of acts of high duties which were to cause the disturbances in the last two decades of the eighteenth century.

The distilling and the brewing appeared throughout the first half of the eighteenth century to remain very much a home industry in Kintyre: worked on a small scale for retail in small quantities consumed near the place of manufacture. In 1751, one merchant, George Walker, involved in the herring fishing and attempting to develop a Greenland fishing scheme, wrote to the Duke of Argyll of the benefit that a brewery would be for purposes of supplying the busses' needs.[21] It would appear that such a brewery was established in the next few years. The brewery company known as Orr, Ballantine and Company that operated at Dalaruan by 1770 was run by five local merchants and one from London.[22] Robert Orr's involvement in this increasingly lucrative business was not surprising considering all his other enterprises. Both he and Daniel Ballantine were involved in the herring buss fishing, the trade to Spain and Portugal, and the colonial trade. Their sons, John Orr and James Ballantine, also had interests in the company. John Campbell Sr. was a merchant much involved in the colonial drawback trade. Archibald Fleming, a

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[21]George Walker to the Duke of Argyll, 26 November 1754, S.C. 16675, ff. 183-4.

[22]Chartulary deeds to the Brewery Company of Dalaruan, private papers of D. Colville, Kilgour, Machrihanish. Reference in "Origin and Romance of Distilling," (1923).

Campbeltown merchant, was actually pursuing his interests in London.[23] A distillery of some description was operating in Campbeltown by 1743, for the proprietor David Watson was using Drumlemble coal in it and supporting continued efforts to win coals locally.[24] Although these are the only two pieces of evidence, they suggest that some commercialisation of brewing and distilling was beginning to take place by the middle of the eighteenth century. The same trend that increasingly placed the malting industry in the hands of town merchants in the 1740's appeared to be characteristic of the making of liquors. The enthusiasm of town merchants that stimulated many town industries from fishing to trading to linen manufacturing in that decade in the 1750's appeared to be encouraging also the establishment of distilling on a larger scale than in previous years.

The Legal Industry: 1760 - 1797

At the same time that the industry was showing signs of developing, the government was displaying a growing awareness of the revenue to be reaped from this branch of manufacturing when it was most needed to support the expenses of the Napoleonic Wars. A series of licencing acts had several effects on the infant industry in Scotland with perhaps only one beneficial one in the long term. That was the development of an efficiency in the industry, particularly in the Lowlands where distillers were not limited in the amount of spirit

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[23] 9 March 1786 and 9 October 1788, Argyll Testaments, CC 2/3/12, p.76 and p.118.

[24] "Report Touching the Coal in Campbeltown", 13 November 1752, S.C. 17670, ff. 136-7

produced; in fact, the greater quantity the manufacturer could produce in a year the lower the duty effectively charged on each gallon of spirit.

In the Highland area, in which Campbeltown was included until 1797, speed and quantity were not the important factors since these distillers were limited in their production. Local distillers estimated that a forty-gallon still, the maximum allowed, consuming the maximum number of bolls permitted, Linlithgow bolls of Kintyre bear, could in a year produce 2750 gallons of whisky.[25] A distiller in the northern part of Argyll calculated 3240 gallons from 450 bolls of bear.[26] Caithness distillers estimated the same amount of whisky, $5\frac{1}{2}$ gallons, could be achieved from a boll as in the Campbeltown distilleries.[27]

The spirits in the Highlands tended to be one in ten proof. The Highland distillers under-estimated their profits in their own self-interest, but even at a conservative estimate the Campbeltown distiller reckoned he could get seven shillings per gallon of spirit. A distiller in Caithness counted on the same.[28] In the northern part of Argyll a gallon was said to be worth five shillings six pence.[29] The law that distinguished between Highland

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[25] Papers Relative to Distilleries (1799), I, 41-2. A series of tables explaining the quantities of grain used, the size of stills, and the amount of spirits produced annually were gathered together from distillers in different collections of revenue, meant to be representative of the collection concerned, I, 20 et seq.

[26] Argyll North Collection, ibid., 43

[27] Caithness Collection, ibid., 37.

[28] Ibid., 37.

[29] Ibid., 43.

and Lowland areas appeared to widen the differences between the Highland and Lowland product, and to initiate a traffic in smuggled whisky from one division to another. In Campbeltown the distillers apparently concentrated upon the quality of the produce as did distillers generally in the Highlands, not so much by choice as by law. It would appear that the art of distillation of spirits was not understood as well in 1786 as thought and that, in fact, too many variables such as quality of the grain used as well as size and shape of the still could produce greatly differing results, giving certain distillers real advantage over others. Those who could not distill fast enough to make a profit smuggled or distilled illicitly. Highland distillers found they could make their efforts pay by sending their product illegally to the Lowlands where the quality of the product was inferior. Private distillation was also a result of high excise duties and certainly one clear way of making a profit. The Campbeltown distiller estimated that he was producing $5\frac{1}{2}$ gallons of whisky per boll, with each boll costing 20 shillings. The prices paid for grain spelled increased profit for tenant farmers, but hardship for the poor.

By the end of the eighteenth century, one quarter of Kintyre was calculated to be arable.[30] Yet despite the fertility and production of the land, meal continually needed to be imported in Campbeltown in increasingly greater quantities. It was brought from Ireland or the north of Scotland in the amount of twenty thousand bolls per year by the last decade of the century and

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[30] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 5.

three thousand pounds in flour was brought from the Clyde. There was always the hope that "in a short time, we shall raise enough of both to serve ourselves."[31] The chief attention of the farmer was directed to raising bear, "of which he depends chiefly for his rent, as he does on potatoes for his subsistence."[32] Smith expressed the desire that landowners would unite in encouraging the raising of oats in preference to bear and to the manufacture of bear into meal instead of into whisky.[33]

Indications were that agricultural improvements in the vicinity of the town only began to occur gradually in the second half of the eighteenth century, probably largely encouraged by the rapidly increasing demand for grain. In 1744, the chamberlain wanted to offer a premium "for enclosing a number of acres with a stone wall."[34] When the provost William Finlay, proposed a candidate for a tack to a farm in the vicinity of Campbeltown, he said in the candidate's favour that he was the "first farmer to enclose."[35] In 1750, a tenant offered for a farm with "a scheme of improving and enclosing after the English manner."[36] By 1784, the cultivation of wheat in Kintyre was becoming more prevalent.[37] The discouraging factor was the lack of a mill for grinding it. Like Smith, Pennant commented upon the unhappy situation of merchants importing flour from England or Ayr with farmers growing bear in preference to wheat, "being mad

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[31] Ibid., 273-4

[32] O.S.A., x, 549

[33] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 82-3.

[34] Archibald Campbell to Andrew Fletcher, 10 February 1744, S.L., iii, GD14/10.

[35] William Finlay to Lord Milton, 15 October 1752, S.C. 16675, f. 216.

[36] Lt. McNeill to Duke of Argyll, 26 August 1750, S.C. Box 407, f.1.

[37] 18 July 1784, TCM, III.

enough to convert their bread into poison."[38] The plan of a wheat mill with the expense of building it was submitted to the council in 1794.[39]

Despite improvements in farming throughout the eighteenth century, the scarcity of grain in the town remained a serious problem and a handicap to the developing distilling industry. The scarcities in 1709, 1757, 1783, 1795 and the last years of the century were all sufficient to warrant the closure of the port to grain exports and the prohibitions on malting. The dearth in 1757, one of the most severe, was worsened in its effects by the increased population of the town during these years of the start of the herring buss fishing and by the increased interest of the maltmen in obtaining grain. Despite the closure of the port to grain exports, the magistrates of the town themselves exported grain that year in order "to capture the higher price offered in the Clyde."[40] By that time the commercial demand and value for malt competed with the interests of the people and the price they could pay for provisions. In 1747, the Kintyre tenant had been at the mercy of the maltmen in selling at their price. Fifty years later because of the increasing competition for grain, the tenant was in a more powerful position:

> The exorbitant tenant will have it in
> his Power to sell his Bear to these
> Smugglers at a rate that must
> put it entirely out of the reach of the poor to
> purchase it for Bread: an instance
> of which happened at the beginning

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38 T. Pennant, Tour of Scotland (1772), I, 221.

39 9 October 1794, TCM, IV.

40 James Campbell, Commissiary in Inverary, to Lord Milton, 5 March 1757, S.C. 16699, ff. 29-30.

> of this season, before the licenced distillers commenced, when the Bear was bought up at from thirty to thirty-five shillings per Boll, which the legal Distiller has now brought down to Twenty shillings.[41]

The tenant farmers in the vicinity of Campbeltown were in a position whereby they would sell their grain not only to the town's maltmen but to brewers and distillers in the Lowlands as well. The profitable situation that developed for the tenants in the town led to an unusual situation in the Highlands whereby two-thirds of the tenants paid a rent of between ten and thirty pounds:

> a situation without parallel in any other district of the estate and probably due to the fishing, and commerce of the burgh of Campbeltown, and the close connections between industry, trade and agriculture in Kintyre.[42]

This group of middling tenant farmers enjoyed a prosperity not characteristic of farmers in those years in Argyll or the Highlands generally. It was the demand for their produce at the end of the eighteenth century that improved their standard of living.

In 1783, in an effort to encourage farmers to make their barley into meal in the town, multure at the town mill was reduced to one-twentieth per peck.[43] However, despite this effort the town

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[41] Laurence McKenzie to the Commissioners of Excise for Scotland, 24 August 1797, letter accompanying the "Memorial by the Distillers of the Burgh of Campbeltown to the Commissioners of Excise," in Papers Relative to Distilleries (1799), I, 41-2.

[42] E.R. Cregeen, Argyll Estate Instructions, 1771-1805, S.H.S. (1964), xxvi, footnote 1.

[43] 15 January 1783, TCM, III.

experienced one of its most serious dearths of grain supplies that year, the scarcity affecting the trade and the malting again. Ten maltmen, James Armour, Robert Brown, Edward Ferguson, Hugh Ferguson, Robert Fulton, William Galbraith, Andrew Harvey, Peter Langwill, Robert Langwill, and James Park, agreed to stop steeping bear malt and selling malt.[44] The stills were called in by 17 March and landowners were encouraged to stop the grinding of malt at their respective mills

> to prevent Distilling, the consumption of Barley consequent thereupon and increase the quantity of meal for the support of the inhabitants.[45]

It would appear that by 1783, distilling was practised on such a scale in the Campbeltown area as to be the major consumer of malt and that bear was converted into malt to such an extent that the town depended largely upon outside sources for its food supply.

The difficulty in obtaining imports of grain presented major problems, however, because the price of grain in Campbeltown was consistently lower than in other areas, with a boll of malt fetching twenty-two shillings in the Lowlands. It was unlikely any supplier would consider Campbeltown as an alternative. In 1783, the town council recognised the need to raise the price of meal "in order to attract importation of grain."[46] The corn laws in the latter part of the eighteenth century were a hardship to the people of Campbeltown caught between the government attempting to protect the interest of the landowners and tenants in keeping up the prices of grain and the interest of the maltmen in pursuing their own business of converting

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[44] 6 March 1783, TCM, III.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

as much barley as possible. The maltmen and distillers were able to pay prices for their grain with which the populace could not compete, yet other sources were unobtainable. In addition, brewers and distillers from the Lowlands were allowed to import grain and malt from the Highland district, although by the same law Highlanders were forbidden the superior grain of the Lowlands. When the town's maltmen could get more for their product from local distillers and even more from companies in the Clyde, it was in their own self-interest to pursue a trade in malt, whatever the effect on the overall well-being of the town's people. The laws for regulating imports and exports of grain had long been considered "highly detrimental to the trading and manufacturing of this country."[47] Oatmeal could not be imported until it exceeded the "enhanced price of sixteen shillings per quarter."[48] The demand for grain and even the consequent hardship itself in the last two decades of the eighteenth century attests to the domination of the distilling interests in the grain trade of the town.

Another indication of the extent of the growth of the industry in the second half of the eighteenth century in Campbeltown was the controversy at the mills between the councillors as tacksmen and the brewing and distilling companies. After 1750, the town mills seemed unable to keep up with the demands made upon them. Daniel Ballantine, one of the proprietors of the brewery company of Dalaruan, whose demands for malt must have been great, presented the council with estimates and plans for improving the mills.[49] The plans were apparently never

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[47] 21 June 1771, TCM, III

[48] 13 May 1790, TCM, IV.

[49] 23 August 1774, TCM, III.

instituted for in the following year the council complained that the brewery was grinding malt by a steel mill by which they paid no multure.[50] One of the proprietors, Robert Orr, was elected dean of guild at that time.[51] The issue was forgotten about until 1780 when compensation for the abstracted multures was demanded once again.[52] Although there is no proven connection, Orr allowed the town to draw upon his account at the Thistle Bank to the amount of one hundred pounds that year.[53] The issue came up again the following year.[54] The problem of abstracted multures continued and the town's tacksmen to the mills complained

> that for some time past very considerable quantity of malt has been abstracted from the town mills by licenced distillers within the sucken greatly to the prejudice of the revenue of the burgh as the amount from a slate produced appears to be about twenty four pounds.[55]

The council decided to form a list of the offending distillers and to call upon them demanding payment. Unfortunately, the list was not included in the minutes but the distillers - to a man - refused to pay.[56] An agreement was reached with the distillers later in the year and payment was converted to cash. The town had a considerable quantity of multure malt which they could not sell, but the distillers were willing to take back their own proportions and pay the town eight pence per half peck. Since the magistrates could not get a better price that year they agreed and also accepted the proposal of one

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[50] 1 April 1775, ibid.

[51] 28 September 1776, ibid.

[52] 14 June 1780, ibid.

[53] 21 November 1780, ibid.

[54] 18 July 1781, ibid.

[55] 15 January 1787, ibid.

[56] 15 March 1787, ibid.

shilling sterling for the grinding of each boll of malt in the future.[57]

Under the early licencing acts the town distiller was still able to make a profit, even by their own accounts:

> when the duty was taken off the malt, and in lieu thereof a Duty of one Pound, and afterwards of one Pound Ten Shillings per Gallon laid on the content of the Still, the licenced Distiller was able to cope with and undersell the smuggler: hence the Decline and Ruin of the latter, the carrying on of the fair Trade and the Increase of the public revenue.[58]

The stiff increase in 1795 still did not discourage these three particular distillers at least:

> That not withstanding the Duty last Year was raised to Two Pounds Ten Shillings per Gallon on the content of the still, yet the most of the former licenced Distillers in this Division took out licences for a year from 1st December last but they have laboured since under some Disadvantages, by which the most of their Stock of Spirits is still on Hand, and many of them in consequence are on the Eve of Bankruptcy, for the want of Money to support and carry on their Trade.[59]

In 1795, the legal stills in Kintyre, numbered thirty-two. The town distilled 5,500 gallons of whisky and the country 2,134 to produce a total of 26,150 gallons each year. The town distillers, producing

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[57] Ibid.

[58] "Memorial by the Distillers of the Burgh of Campbeltown to the Commissioners of Excise for Scotland, "24 August 1797 in Papers Relative to Distilleries (1799), I, 41-2.

[59] Ibid.

19,800 gallons were the centre of the industry.[60] In the country as a whole, Smith estimated that 20,000 bolls - remarkably the amount of grain imported into Argyll - were converted yearly into whisky. Half of this amount was distilled in Kintyre and Campbeltown used nearly eight thousand bolls.[61] The 1795 increase in duties coupled with the parliamentary suspension on manufacturing spirits on account of scarcity that year,[62] crippled the legal industry in the town. The only account of the expenses and profits of the local distillers comes from one of their own accounts. It might be expected that they would somewhat over-estimate their costs and under-estimate the price they could realistically obtain for their whisky. The collector of excise for the Argyll south collection, felt it was a fair representation:

> From my knowledge of their Trade I am of the opinion they have stated their outlays at a very low Rate, and they have rated their spirits much higher than ever they got or can expect.[63]

Calculations of three Campbeltown distillers indicated that with a duty of any more than two pounds thirteen shillings fourpence there was little if any profit left to the manufacturer. Three Campbeltown distillers estimated their income on the basis of the previous year's quality of grain and production in a forty-gallon still.

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[60] O.S.A., x, 557.

[61] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 85.

[62] 35 Geo. III, c. 119.

[63] Laurence McKenzie to Commissioners of Excise, 24 August 1797 in Papers Relative to Distilleries (1799), I, 41-42.

They produced on average 2,750 gallons of whisky from the maximum number of bolls allowed, 500. Supposing that it sold "at the very highest at 7 shillings per gallon," they could make £962 and £30 from the waste products. Their expenses added up to nearly that amount with £500 paid initially for the grain at 20 shillings per boll and other expenses such as rents, wages, fuels, carriage, repairs and insurance. At the end of the year the average distiller calculated that he would have £106-03 to pay his duties.[64] Distillers calculated that six shillings six pence was the highest price spirits could be sold for without danger from competition from foreign markets and smuggling[65] although excise officers reckoned that the distillers could afford to sell spirits as high as eight shillings six pence per gallon without worry about importation and smuggling.[66]

The situation in Campbeltown was a borderline one after 1795, but the legislation that decided the issue for distillers came in 1797 when the suspension on distilling was removed and a new set of still duties imposed. The duty was raised to fifty-four pounds in the Lowlands. The Highlands were further divided into two districts with nine pounds levied in the middle district in which Campbeltown was located. Production was limited to the produce of five hundred bolls of malt. The duty in the other "Highland" district was six pounds ten shillings with a limit of four hundred

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[64] "Memorial by the Distillers of the Burgh of Campbeltown," 24 August 1797 in Papers Relative to Distilleries (1799), I, 42.

[65] Papers Relative to Distilleries (1799), I, 255.

[66] Ibid., 82.

and fifty bolls of malt. The excise officer for the Argyll south collection which included Kintyre, Arran, Bute and the Cumbraes reported the great increase in still seizures after 1795. He predicted that an increased duty

> would be more the means of encouraging than suppressing private distillation yet I have reason to believe that many would take out licences by paying three shillings per gallon on the spirit from the still together with the malt duty.[67]

When the duty was raised again in 1797 and the districts further divided, legal distillation came to an end in Campbeltown for twenty years and private distillation came to the fore. John Smith wrote in 1794:

> Were it not for the temptation of smuggling, a duty next to a prohibition would be a mercy.[68]

That prohibitive duty, in fact came into effect in 1797 and compelled the entire industry in Campbeltown to become illicit.

The Illegal Industry: 1760 - 1800

The legal distillers faced increasingly keen competition from the illicit trade in the last years of the eighteenth century and by 1797, the few remaining licenced distillers succumbed to the keen competition and did not take out licences the following year. The illicit product was often more desirable and of a higher quality because these distillers could afford to use more malt. The collector of excise

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[67] L. McKenzie to Commissioners of Excise, 23 February 1799, in Papers Relative to Distilleries in Scotland (1799), II, 251.

[68] O.S.A., x, 558.

in Campbeltown reported the steady increase of private malting and distilling from the 1780's onwards. The illicit distillation was usually little discouraged by the Scottish landowner who saw it as the surest means of gaining his rents at this time. Archibald, the 3rd Duke of Argyll, in the middle decades of the century up to his death in 1761 had shown a degree of awareness of the problems in various areas of his large estate. The 5th Duke of Argyll was unusual in the Highlands generally and in Argyll particularly for the interest he took in his estate management. He displayed an even greater concern in improving his lands and establishing towns throughout the district. Not since Archibald Campbell of Stonefield, chamberlain to the second and third Dukes, had the desire to increase rents been combined with concrete ideas for improvement.[69] At the same time that he encouraged improvement by a ten per cent abatement of rents and the granting of bolls of lime, he added the stipulation on leases that the tenant was not to distill whisky without a licence.[70] He was unusual in the stand he took against distilling in an effort to increase licenced production. He made efforts to establish two distilleries on Tiree in an attempt to boost the economy of that island.

Other landholders did not take the same view. The collector of excise stated that

> in Kintyre which is a fine grain country, there are no legal distillers, and private distillation is encouraged by the landholders, who wish to secure their rents, and consider this the readiest market.[71]

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[69] E.R. Cregeen, Argyll Estate Instructions (1964), xi et. seq.

[70] T. Pennant, Tour of Scotland (1772), I, 221.

[71] L. McKenzie to Commissioners of Excise, 23 February 1799 in Papers Relative to Distilleries (1799), II, 250.

He stated the case even more strongly to emphasise the prevalence of private distillation, as it was euphemistically called:

> The landholder and the tenant (though not openly) give every encouragement to the business, as without it they openly say the rents cannot be paid.[72]

The owner of the island of Cara, Donald Marquis, was implicated in the illegal trade in spirits on several occasions. One Justice of the Peace, the Sheriff Substitute, was "concerned in the trade."[73] If the landowners did not discourage illicit distillation, the excise officers and fines were little deterrent and the industry prospered despite all handicaps. In addition, in the periods of severe grain shortages as in 1783 and 1795, the landowners did not always enforce the prohibition on malting in their mills.[74]

The list of prosecutions for the southern Argyll collection which included Campbeltown, numbered 84 in the year ending 5 July 1797, 76 in the next year, and 99 in the year that no licences were taken out in Campbeltown 1799.[75] The offenses in these prosecutions were private distilling, assisting in that operation, distilling and retailing without a licence, and harbouring private distilling. In these three years some of the distillers who had carried on a legal industry before 1797 and who returned to legal distilling again after the changes in legislation in 1823, were customers of Robert Armour who

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[72] Ibid., 251

[73] Collector to board, 12 May 1806, CE 82/1/16.

[74] 6 March 1783, TCM, III.

[75] "Accounts of Goods Seized in Argyll South Collection" in Papers Relative to Distilleries (1799), II. Year ending 5 July 1797, p. 128; 5 July 1798, p. 149; 5 July 1799, p.168.

manufactured stills, obviously illicit ones, in the early nineteenth century. Archibald Galbraith and Nathaniel Harvey were two of the petitioners on behalf of the legal distillers in Campbeltown who wrote to the commissioner of excise on 24 August 1797 explaining that higher duties would be the ruin of their industry and others like them. The Harveys and the Galbraiths did not, in fact,take out licences that year after the increases and nothing more was heard of them in the pages of legal distilling until the 1820's. In the interim these family names appeared in the still books of Robert Armour, along with familiar names of Colville, Ferguson, Greenlees, Johnston, Mitchell, and Reid, as purchasers of utensils for private distillation.[76] The distribution of these illicit stills throughout Kintyre and the predominance of them in the vicinity of Campbeltown show the extent of the illicit manufacturing in the interim years.[77]

The majority of the population considered the distillation of spirits a right and a tax on it all was an infringement of that right, not to mention the high taxes and restrictions imposed by the 1797 act. One observer assessed the situation in Kintyre before increases in licence duties:

> It is supposed there are unlicenced stills there, though none have been as yet detected; but it was said the officers there durst not do their Duty.[78]

Campbeltown was not unusual in the fact that "The country people here have an antipathy against all King's men and will always join the Smugglers."[79] The division of the "Highlands" into two further

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[76] I.A. Glen, "Maker of Illicit Stills," (1970), 73.

[77] Ibid., fig. 2.

[78] Papers Relative to Distilleries (1799), II, 438.

[79] Charles McDonald, Tidewaiter at Machrimore, to Board, 17 August 1792, CE 82/1/11.

districts in 1797 was as objectionable as the high duty imposed. The distillers of Campbeltown wanted this distinction for buying and selling abolished because of the grain scarcities in the area:

> Some districts in the middle districts can not produce enough grain to keep distilleries going.[80]

The prohibition on importing malt from the Lowlands was a real hardship to the town's distillers particularly when it was considered that tenants were allowed to sell their grain to brewers and distillers in the Lowlands if they could get a higher price for it there. This competition from the Lowlands both raised the price the maltmen had to pay for grain and increased the likelihood of scarcities each year.

Campbeltown felt particularly the shortage in 1795 and the town council appointed a committee to deal with the maltmen and to purchase from them about five hundred bolls of bear as reasonably as possible. If they did not agree a shore duty of ten shillings per boll was to be exacted on bear, meal, and every kind of provision shipped from the harbour wherever in the district.[81] That year the magistrates clashed with brewers from Greenock who had purchased sixty bolls of bear from Kintyre farmers. The Greenock Company of Blair and Martins Distillers had stored the grain in Campbeltown and it was still there when the port was declared closed to grain exports. When the company attempted to remove it the council pleaded scarcity:

> Every person who shipped bear has agreed to supply a quantity for the poor not exceeding fourteen pence per peck.[82]

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[80] "Memorial from the Campbeltown Distillers to Commissioners of Excise, 24 August 1797 in Papers Relative to the Distilleries (1799), I, 41-2.

[81] 14 March 1796, TCM, IV.

[82] 28 March 1796, ibid.

Since the company was not local, the council asked for ten bolls of bear and fifteen bolls of bear meal or otherwise the Greenock distillers could pay ten shillings per boll in shore duties.[83] The council found itself with a case against the distillers the next year.[84]

In a final effort to keep provisions in the district and to bring a greater supply of meal to the market, the Justices of the Peace, the commissioners of supply, and the heritors of Kintyre wanted to raise the price of a boll "so as to bear some proportion to the price of meal in the low country."[85] They authorised retailers of oatmeal in Campbeltown to raise the price to twenty-two shillings, when it was a boll of acceptable quality. Potatoes were also raised to twelve shillings per boll wholesale or thirteen shillings four pence per boll retail. The price of bear meal was raised too. The brewery, advantageously located next to the town mills, was appointed as a collecting place for the goods.[86]

Whenever in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the excise duties were raised, the illicit distillation in Campbeltown correspondingly increased. In the 1780's, there was little or no mention of illicit distilling. After each increase in duties, the number of stills confiscated increased. The scarcities of grain continued to attest, as much to poor harvests, as to the increased illicit distillation in the area. The last years of the decade were characterised in the town by a persistent shortage of grain. In 1799, the town council ordered

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[83] Ibid.

[84] 23 January 1797, ibid.

[85] 3 December 1799, ibid.

[86] Ibid.

the mill to hold all its multure meal, because of scarcity.[87]

Significantly, the last act of the eighteenth century was an attempt to stop illegal distillation by stopping all grinding of malt:

> in order to put a stop to illegal distilling within the liberties of the burgh the magistrates and town council hereby declare that after the 16 current no malt shall be ground in the mill of Campbeltown under any pretence whatever except so much as shall be necessary for the ale brewers.[88]

Equally significant was the following minute of the town council, the first in the next century:

> Smuggling is carried on in town and country to a degree that is prejudicial to the object in view as well as to the poor in general.[89]

Smuggling

The southwest coast of Scotland was particularly notorious as a "great scene of smuggling, both at sea and on shore."[90] A report prepared for the parliamentary investigation described the variety of vessels involved in the smuggling:

> A number of small luggers and wherries and of large row boats (some of them of a new construction), forty feet long, and rowing with twelve or sixteen oars, which are

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[87] 19 March 1799, ibid.

[88] 3 December 1799, ibid.

[89] 30 January 1800, ibid.

[90] "Report by Commissioners of Excise in Scotland to Inquire into Illicit Practices," (1783), in Papers Relative to Distilleries (1799), I, app. 28, 397.

> almost constantly employed in bringing over tea, spirits, and tobacco from Red Bay and the northeast part of Ireland.[91]

He also had "pretty certain accounts" of

> twelve large cutters and vessels from 10 to 24 guns (6, 9, and 12 pounders) and from 20 to 80 stout resolute hands, which are now solely fitted out for, and employed in the Smuggling Trade on the Galloway and Ayrshire coasts.[92]

The Breckenridges of Red Bay, who had begun smuggling at the height of the colonial drawback trade, reached their peak in the 1790's. They smuggled goods, primarily foreign imports of tea and tobacco, between Ireland and the Scottish coast. Campbeltown was involved in this exchange to some extent being en route. Sanda Island was known to be a depot for smuggled goods brought to Campbeltown.[93] Breckenridge of Dowhill was "the Lessee of the Island, promoter, and chiefly concerned in the illegal Importations to that Island."[94] The revenue officers in Campbeltown were never particularly successful at making a seizure of goods at Sanda despite its known purpose. Tobacco appeared always to be the main cargo for the Breckenridges.

As rum became increasingly difficult to obtain from the colonies after the change in legislation in 1772 and particularly during the American revolution, merchants would be relying more upon the imports of other liquors. The Napoleonic Wars put a stop to the trade in French wines and brandies and even Spanish and Portuguese wines in the

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[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Collector to board, 3 August 1791, CE 82/1/11

[94] Collector to board, 17 November 1791, CE 82/1/11.

last decades of the eighteenth century. Such difficulties and the resulting dearth in foreign spirits opened a ready market for British-made spirits, both legal and illegal. In 1787, the first reference to "home-made spirits" was made in the customs records when quantities were seized in Campbeltown.[95] The first use of the term "whisky" did not occur until 1803 when a seizure was made off the Kintyre coast.[96] Although there continued to be considerable smuggling of foreign spirits after the period of drawback trade, the complaints of the illegal movements of distilled liquors were not characteristic of the port until the last years of the eighteenth century. Three types of smuggling occurred frequently in the port after 1797 and reached overwhelming proportions at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Two types were in direct violation to the act of 1797 which forbade distillers in the middle district to import grain from the Lowlands or to export their spirits there for sale. Campbeltown distillers complained that by allowing Lowlanders to purchase grain in Campbeltown a scarcity was created to the hardship of local distillers. They also complained of the "Liberty to sell his Spirits in any Part of the Kingdom" which the Lowlands enjoyed.[97] Consequently, bear and malt were often smuggled from the Lowlands to be distilled in the town and small quantities of spirits smuggled frequently to the Clyde for sale.

An incident of the illegal grain imports was detected in 1797 when four sacks of bear and one bag of barley were discovered in the possession of David Ferguson, a licenced distiller:

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[95] Collector to board, 15 July 1797, CE 82/1/8.

[96] Board to collector, 11 May 1803, CE 82/1/16.

[97] "Memorial from Campbeltown Distillers to Commissioners of Excise," 24 August 1797 in Papers Relative to Distilleries (1799), I, 41-42.

> The pernicious practice of getting Low Country bear for malting and making into whisky in the Highland Districts deserves a proper check.[98]

The quantity involved and the concealment indicated fraudulent intent, according to the customs officers. In another incident forty-two quarters of bear and five quarters of barley were detected.[99]

During the years of prohibition on malting and the export of grain from the port, the smuggling increased, as would be expected. In these cases the trade changed direction and the tenants smuggled grain and the maltmen their malt out of Kintyre and into the Clyde and Lowland areas to obtain the inflated prices offered there in years of dearth. Arran, the site of numerous illicit stills, was one common market for smuggled grain:

> It is a well known fact that very considerable quantities of barley has been imported this year from Kintyre into Arran for the purpose of illegal distillation.[100]

Large quantities of malted barley were allegedly smuggled as far as England despite the prohibitions on malting and exports of grain in 1800.[101]

The smuggling which was, of course, most prevalent in the years after 1797, was the sending of Highland whisky to the Clyde. The Highland product was more desirable than many of the Lowland manufacturers and became increasingly difficult to obtain after its export and sale to the Lowlands was forbidden in 1797 when it was only illicitly

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[98] Collector to board, 31 July 1797, CE 82/1/13.

[99] Collector to board, 3 January 1801, CE 82/1/15.

[100] Collector to board, 8 June 1801, ibid.

[101] Collector to board, 3 March 1800, ibid.

produced. The officers of revenue had little difficulty apparently in distinguishing the products of the two districts:

> The slow process of distillation in the Highland district from the duties being much more moderate than the other (Lowland district) infer a much superior quality of spirits, easily distinguished from the other.[102]

Passengers, crew, and masters in the packet boats that sailed regularly between Campbeltown and the Clydeside ports had ample opportunity to profit by carrying whisky into the Lowlands. Numerous accounts of whisky smuggled this way occur in the letterbooks at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The collector reported it in 1811 as "a very remarkable species of smuggling long carried on here but only now discovered."[103] The collector described the procedure:

> A person residing in Campbeltown procures excise permits at Glasgow for different quantities of whisky to be conveyed to this place in order to support his stock of that article, which permits are brought by some person belonging to the Glasgow packets but without any whisky whatever accompanying them.[104]

When the distiller - illicit in these years - was ready to send his own Highland spirits to the Lowlands he would send it as excise stock "accompanied by an Excise Permit as if it were part of the stock he got from thence he was sending back to that place.[105] This trade appeared to be profitable to a number of people in Kintyre because of the frequency with which it was carried on. On this occasion a

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[102] Collector to board, 29 July 1812, CE 82/1/24.

[103] Collector to board, 11 September 1811, CE 82/1/23.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid.

Campbeltown maltman, John McTaggart, was discovered in his attempt to send thirty one gallons of illicitly distilled Highland whisky to Glasgow. Duncan Mactaggart was discovered in 1813 carrying on a similar trade for some years as master of the passage boat Caledonia which sailed to Greenock twice a week.[106] Female passengers also smuggled illicitly distilled whisky in

> almost every possible shape that whisky in skins could be placed upon a woman's person or concealed in bladders about her.[107]

This particular officer seized whisky hidden in fowls, in butter, in dishes, and on one occasion dressed up like a child at its mother's breast.[108] The smugglers were said to be able to get from eighteen shillings six pence per gallon to twenty-four shillings. In one three-week period in 1812, a hundred and fifty gallons was smuggled from the east coast of Kintyre to Gourock.[109] In the area of Campbeltown the collector estimated that by 1813, two hundred gallons a week was illicitly distilled and smuggled. In northern Kintyre the amount was a hundred and fifty gallons. The collector felt that ten licenced stills of thirty gallons each would overcome "this pernicious traffic if placed on the Highland footing of revenue."[110]

The position of Campbeltown in a "middle" district with the duties between the Highland and Lowland areas and trade barriers on both sides, made illicit distillation and smuggling an extremely

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[106] Collector to board, 17 April 1813, CE 82/1/25.

[107] Collector to board, 18 November 1811, CE 82/1/23.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Collector to board, 21 December 1812, CE 82/1/25.

[110] Collector to board, 1 November 1813, CE 82/1/26.

prosperous and rapidly growing enterprise at the end of the eighteenth century. The amount of smuggling steadily increased after 1797. By 1804, the Board of Customs thought that

> there may be sufficient seizures at this port for a writ that whisky is not to be prosecuted before the Justices but in the exchequer.[111]

The collector referred in 1808 to "whisky in great quantities being now smuggled from Ireland."[112] This exchange, like taking coals to Newcastle, developed between Campbeltown and the western islands and Ireland. Particularly large quantities came from the Inishoan peninsula in Ireland. On one occasion two hundred gallons imported from Inishoan appeared to be destined for the Clyde coast.[113] Another sixty five casks were seized later that year.[114] Kintyre was a depot for distillers in the western isles and Irish manufacturers to smuggle their product to the high-priced ports of the Clyde. The east coast of Kintyre from Skipness to Campbeltown with its numerous bays, creeks, caves, and glens was the ideal location for the smugglers to centre their trade:

> Whisky is carried from hence (Campbeltown) by land about six miles where boats are placed elsewhere on the east coast for the purpose of conveying such spirits to Skipness.[115]

The officers of customs and excise requested additional help

> to suppress the enormous degree of fraudulent distilled whisky carried on in the peninsula of Kintyre . . . and the conveyance of these spirits from thence to the Clyde and Airshire.[116]

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[111] Collector to board, 23 April 1804, CE 82/1/17.

[112] Collector to board, 21 December 1808, CE 82/1/20.

[113] Collector to board, 19 May 1810, CE 82/1/21.

[114] Collector to board, 27 December 1810, ibid.

[115] Collector to board, 2 February, 1810, ibid.

[116] Collector to board, 24 March 1812, CE 32/1/24.

The government increased the number of customs and excise officers in Kintyre and the size and number of the revenue cruisers around the southwest coast of Kintyre but despite their efforts the illicit distillation and smuggling increased. The government did not give up the use of force as a means of suppressing the smuggling until 1824 when the duty on whisky which was as high as 9 shillings $4\frac{1}{2}$ pence in 1815 was reduced suddenly from 6 shillings 2 pence to 2 shillings 4 pence per gallon. The industry of distilling, which had a strong start in Campbeltown in the second half of the eighteenth century, only became illicit and relied on smuggling in the last three years of the century. The amount of smuggling, both in grain and whisky, participation of a large part of the population, and the difficulties the officers of revenue had in suppressing it showed the strength of the infant industry in the town.

The changes in legislation in 1815, when the smuggling was really at a height in and about the town did not significantly reduce the smuggling although one distillery, the Campbeltown distillery, was established in 1817. The distinctions between the districts were abolished and the licence on stills discontinued, but the high duty of 9 shillings $4\frac{1}{2}$ pence per gallon of whisky was imposed. The distillery was established in Longrow by John Mactaggart, maltman, and John Beith, banker. No other efforts were made until 1823 when the Government drastically reduced the duty on whisky to 2 shillings 4 pence per gallon.[117]

In 1818, an assessment made of the years of legal distilling

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[117] D. Colville, "Origin and Romance of Distilling" (1923).

in the town stated that:

> it is a fact well known, that, in Kintyre, smuggling has increased within the last eighteen years, in proportion to the relative decrease of the fishing trade.[118]

The tonnage bounty allowed to the merchant adventurers of the white herring fishing was reduced after the 1785 investigation of the fisheries, and a barrel bounty raised to encourage the fishing from smaller boats.[119] This trend continued in the 1790's and after the 1798 investigation the tonnage bounties were completely phased out over a five year period.[120] The immediate result was that a great number of fishermen "were deprived of their usual means of subsistence."[121] Two alternatives for employing men and capital gradually developed. The actual fishermen

> were generally engaged during the summer and harvest months, in fishing with small boats; and, throughout the rest of the year, their principal employment was illicit distillation, and running with contraband goods from one place to another.[122]

A number of the buss owners themselves

> sold their vessels, and withdrew from the fishing, sunk their capital in stocking farms, or embarked in the grain trade.

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[118] "Observations on the Present Distillery Act," Campbeltown, 2 February 1818, Strathclyde Regional Archives, CO 6/1/22/4.

[119] 26 Geo. III. c. 81.

[120] "Report on the Fisheries," (1798).

[121] "Observations on the Present Distillery Act," 2 February 1818.

[122] Ibid.

> Those who followed the latter vocation, particularly in the town of Campbeltown, occupied granaries and malt kilns.[123]

This would be the situation at the end of the eighteenth century. From 1798 to 1803 the capital invested in the large busses was gradually withdrawn and placed again in stores of grain and malt. The illicit product increasingly surpassed the quality of the legal product. At an excise sale of whisky in 1818, the divergence between the two products was made apparent:

> a quantity of seized whisky was bought with permit for the Low Country, at twenty shillings and twenty-one shillings per gallon, at the very time the Campbeltown Distillery Company could with difficulty dispose of any part of their stock at fifteen shillings per gallon, although equal in quality to the best spirits manufactured at any licenced distillery in Scotland.[124]

The Campbeltown Distillery complained that the greatest competitor was the smuggler who could generally get eighteen shillings per gallon

> and makes a profit of six guineas in the smuggling of one boll of barley.[125]

The legal distiller could not afford to compete with this illegal trade after 1797 and either joined the illicit distillers in some cases or more often turned to malting barley and trading in grain, both increasingly profitable lines of business after 1797.

The situation by the end of the eighteenth century was, in fact, a reversal of the position in 1757/8 when the maltmen and merchants who had been the usual customers for the tenants' grain began investing

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[123] Ibid.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Ibid.

their money in stocks of salt and the building of larger vessels to pursue the herring fishing and the worthwhile tonnage bounties.[126] Forty years later the men of capital in Campbeltown were withdrawing their money from their fishing endeavours, selling their large busses, and investing once again in trade of grain in the vicinity of Campbeltown. The purse strings in Campbeltown were held again by merchant/maltmen rather than merchant adventurers. Their customers were

> the unemployed fishermen and their families who purchased the malt (when they were unable to smuggle it), and carried on a constant trade of illicit distillation.[127]

Their customers were also the legal distillers in the Lowlands who continued operating during these years. The distilling industry had a sufficiently firm footing in the town by 1797 to give employment to many and profit to the usual few who invested in the venture favoured by the legislation and conditions of the time whether it be malt or herring.

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[126] Chamberlain to Lord Milton, 2 February 1758, S.C. 16703, ff. 150-1.

[127] "Observations on the Present Distillery Act", 2 February 1818.

CONCLUSION

The influence of Campbeltown on the surrounding countryside by the end of the eighteenth century and the changes in the town itself by the 1790's are best shown by the statistical accounts of the parishes and agricultural surveys of the county. The authors of these accounts, without exception, had been resident in their parishes for some considerable time. The Rev. John Smith, who came as minister to the Highland church in Campbeltown in 1781, wrote the agricultural survey of the county as well as the Statistical Account for the parish of Campbeltown. The Rev. David Campbell was minister of the established kirk in Southend since 1742 and the Rev. George Macleish had been minister of Saddell for twenty-five years when he wrote his account in 1785. Each account recorded the effect the town had on the lives of the inhabitants of the parishes. The Campbeltown parish itself was the most fertile in the peninsula. It included the low-lying arable stretch of land between the town and the bay at Machrihanish. By the time of the agricultural survey, 1798, some acres in the vicinity of the town were said to be let for as much as two to three pounds an acre "but that price may be said to be put, not altogether upon the land, but partly upon the accommodation."[1] The parish of Southend occupied the extreme southern tip of the peninsula and had a fairly large extent of arable ground with "a great part of the higher grounds which formerly were covered in heath" being converted to arable and pasture land after

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[1] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 38.

the mid-eighteenth century.[2] The other advantage of the parish which the Rev. David Campbell cited was its proximity to the town for convenience of trade:

> Some hundred bolls of barley, meal, and potatoes are yearly sold in the neighbouring town of Campbeltown.[3]

The parish to the north of Campbeltown on the west coast was a united Killean and Kilchenzie. The writer of the statistical account also boasted of the advantageous proximity to the market at Campbeltown.[4] The acres along the coast could yield good crops of bear, potatoes and oats, but the most of the parish was high ground with "generally a thin coat of peat earth, on a till bottom."[5] The only other parish in the vicinity of Campbeltown was the united parish of Saddell and Skipness north of the Campbeltown parish on the east coast. It was separated from Killean and Kilcolmonnell on the west coast in 1753. This parish was generally "rough and hilly, and better adapted to pasture than tillage."[6] The arable land in the glens was not of good quality and only a few acres near the shore could be adapted to arable.

The information that was included in this account showed that generally the population of Kintyre was shifting from the

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[2] O.S.A., III, 364.

[3] Ibid.

[4] O.S.A., XIX, 631.

[5] Ibid., 627.

[6] O.S.A., XII, 476.

countryside to the vicinity of the town in the years from 1755 to the 1790's. The parish of Campbeltown showed the largest increase as would be expected. In 1755, Dr. Webster calculated that the parish consisted of 4597 souls. Of these, 3000 were thought to dwell in the town itself. By 1791, the parish had increased to 8700, although "the inhabitants of the town are apt to fluctuate."[7] John Smith estimated the number of people in the town at 5000.[8] This meant the parish increased by 4103 in 36 years; or, in fact, almost doubled. The town increased by 2000 persons in the same time.[9] Analysing the population more closely by examining the landward parts of the parish in the old smaller church boundaries, Smith divided the inhabitants into Highlanders and Lowlanders, a distinction still in evidence even at the end of the century:[10]

	Highlanders	Lowlanders	Total
Kilchousland and Kilmichael	1400	471	1871
Kilkivan and Kilkerran	1460	384	1844
Total	2860	855	3715

He noted that "the proportion of Lowlanders in the town is much greater than in the country."[11] He also acknowledged that any census of the town's population must take into account that the

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[7] O.S.A., X, 544-5.

[8] Ibid., 546.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

the large number of sailors

> who make a considerable part of the inhabitants of the town are of a migratory nature.[12]

He noted that on average for the previous nine years from 1791 there were 254 baptisms a year and 42 marriages.[13]

By comparison, the population of the surrounding parishes appeared to be on the decline in these same years. In Southend according to Dr. Webster, there were 1391 souls in 1755. By 1791, the minister calculated a total population of 1300 or 1000 "examinable persons."[14] He estimated on average 60 christenings per year for the previous 10 years and 14 marriages per year. He noted also that the language of more than two-thirds was Gaelic, "both, however, know as much of each other's language as qualifies them to transact all matters of business."[15] The parish appeared to be very much a Highland Gaelic-speaking population losing numbers to the town. Kilchenzie showed even more marked decrease. Dr. Webster calculated a population in 1755 of 2391. The total number of people in 1791 was 1911 or a decrease during these years of 480.[16] Even allowing for error on the part of Webster, the decrease was fairly substantial. The average number of marriages each year for the eight years prior to the statistical accounts was 24 and baptisms 77.[17]

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., 546.

[14] O.S.A., III, 364.

[15] Ibid.

[16] O.S.A., XIX, 629.

[17] Ibid.

The population of the other neighbouring parish, Saddell and Skipness, was calculated at 1369 by Webster. In July 1792, the Rev. George Macleish estimated that 1341 souls resided in the parish, 719 males and 622 females. In that period of time the population had dropped although only slightly. Another factor, however, was a figure for the year 1768, 122 souls in the parish, a surprisingly low number and perhaps not fully reliable. The Rev. George Macleish used that figure when he commented that the increase in 25 years "notwithstanding considerable emigrations formerly to America, and lately to the Low country, is 141."[18]

The minister named only one of the many causes for changing population, emigration abroad or otherwise. John Smith noted the seasonal fluctuations on account of the fishing in these parishes, Campbeltown in particular. Changes in agriculture during these years must be considered in examining population changes: the ability or inability of the parishes to provide food and fuel for growing numbers of people and the initiative of landlords, the Duke of Argyll particularly, to instigate and encourage change. Finally, the other factor which obviously had a considerable effect on the area was the extension of trade and manufactures in the town itself, drawing a population from the surrounding countryside.

Emigration

The first wave of emigration, and the largest, occurred in the 1730's and 1740's. Loss of position and social standing was a principal motive of this early emigration by tacksmen primarily and

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[18] O.S.A., XII, 478.

their followers.[19] As the tacksmen system was being abolished in Kintyre from 1730 to 1740 and the leases were given to working farmers, many of the former tacksmen emigrated particularly to America. Often they took a good number of their tenants with them. Such an emigrant was Neil McNeil of Machrihanish who left Saltcoats on the Thistle in 1739 for North Carolina.[20] His father died in debt to the Duke of Argyll.[21] The other factors in this early emigration were high rents and bad harvests. In 1737, the chamberlain reported that he had settled with most of the inhabitants on the rents. For "some ruinous ones" he advised the Duke to give abatements.[22] The 2nd Duke, however, did not allow this:

> Since His Grace gave directions not to lower the rents, some seven or eight (farms) have not been possessed from Whitsunday last.[23]

The chamberlain called for agricultural improvements to suppress "that spirit of deserting this country."[24] Enthusiasm for emigrating was never as great again for the rest of the century and the chamberlain's fears that the country "might have been left a desert"

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[19] A. McKerral, "Early Emigration from Kintyre to America," an unpublished manuscript in the Campbeltown Free Library, KA 257.

[20] Collector to the Board, 6 June 1739, CE 82/1/1. This entry is bound up with ones of a later date.

[21] Memo by the chamberlain to Lord Milton, 1749, S.C. Box 412, f. 1.

[22] Chamberlain to the Duke of Argyll, 14 March 1737, S.L. iii, f. 181, GD 14/10.

[23] Chamberlain to the Duke of Argyll, 22 June 1737, S.L. iii, f. 202, GD 14/10.

[24] Archibald Campbell of Knockboy to Lord Milton, 10 February 1744, S.L. iii, GD 14/A/17.

never materialised.[25]

In the 1750's, there were whispers of emigrations - among the lower classes and the young on these occasions. Presumably these were the emigrations to which the minister of Saddell parish referred. The chamberlain reported that:

> A great many of young people and servants here are purposing to go to America next summer but I have not yet heard that any of His Grace's tenants designed to go.[26]

Ih fact, the chamberlain had difficulties encouraging people to leave Kintyre, although the destination perhaps explains the reluctance, when he tried to instigate a "plantation" of sorts to improve the farming on Tiree:

> I have used all Endeavours since November last to persuade some of the Kintyre people to go to Tyree to possess a farm there, but none of them would condescend to go at any rate, though I assured them that His Grace was willing to transport them and their families there gratis and carry them back again at the end of three years if the country did not agree with them.[27]

In 1754, when many of the leases came up again for bids, there was evidence of keen competition.[28] Even the year of the "worst paid rents," 1757, showed no trend towards emigration to America or otherwise.[29]

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Archibald Campbell to Lord Milton, 1753, S.C. 16681, f. 106.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Daniel McNeill to Archibald Campbell, 11 October 1755, S.C. 188, f. 214.

[29] Chamberlain to the Duke of Argyll, 23 April 1757, S.C. 16698, f. 126.

At no time in the eighteenth century in Kintyre was there evidence of the tenants being removed to make way for sheep, either on the Argyll lands or any other. At the end of the century there was only one large sheep stock and that was run by four residing tenants:

> This plan, which unites agriculture with sheep farming and encourages population, appears to be well adapted to the nature of this country, and promises to promote both the interest of the proprietor, and of the people.[30]

Beginning in the 1770's several townships were united along the west-facing cliffs of southern Kintyre. In 1775, Borgadaill and Glenmanuilt were combined for sheep grazing.[31] The next year Ballimacumry and Balmavicar were run together by graziers. In 1798, Inendunnan and Strone were combined as grass with "at least one to live there" and similarly, Innengaoich, Inneanbea, and Inneancocallich.[32] The statistical account of the next century recorded that this area, designated simply as the Mull of Kintyre, was leased out to a company which stocked it with over six thousand sheep, "some twenty to thirty families being removed to make way for them."[33]

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[30] John Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 37.

[31] Tacks to Borgadill and Glenmanuilt in Kilcolmkill parish, 1775, from A.E.O. Copies in private papers of D. Colville.

[32] Tacks to Innengaoich, Inneanbea, and Inneancocallich in Kilcolmkill parish, 1798, tacks in A.E.O.

[33] C. Bede, Glencreggan: or a Highland Home in Cantire (1861), I, 182.

The account is vague about the date of this depopulation, "about 1800."[34]

Kintyre was affected by seasonal migrations, but less on account of agriculture than of account of the fishing. The chamberlain encouraged the development of manufactures in 1744 because of the "great numbers of poor, consequently labour will be cheap."[35] He appeared, however, to be speaking of less developed areas of Argyll than Kintyre when he wrote:

> Our poor goe in great shoals to the Low Country for two or three months in the harvest to reap the corns there and immediately on return, with what they have saved, commonly very little, to be a burden for the other nine or ten months of the year in their country.[36]

The chamberlain encouraged the raising of potatoes as one way of stemming the flow of seasonal migration. The situation in the area of Campbeltown, however, appeared to be just the opposite. As agriculture improved in Kintyre and the fishing industry expanded with the granting of the buss bounties in the second half of the eighteenth century, the town attracted people looking for employment.

Fishing

A factor of more impertance than emigration in considering population changes in Kintyre in the latter half of the eighteenth

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Archibald Campbell to Lord Milton, 10 February 1744, S.L. iii, GD 14/A/17.

[36] Ibid.

century was the attraction of fishing. More than one observer attributed the increased population of the town to the establishment of this industry. Pennant noted the change evident by 1772 in the town when there were seventy-eight sailing vessels employing over eight hundred sailors. Thirty years earlier there had been only two or three ships.[37] Similarly, David Loch noted the expansion of Campbeltown evident by 1778:

> The town of Campbeltown has increased considerably since the commencement of the bounty on the herring fishing, it being the principal place of rendezvous for the busses. The tonnage of shipping is now ten times what it was a few years ago, consequently the number of sailors, carpenters, coopers, and in short all ranks of people have multiplied in the same proportion.[38]

It would appear that the greatest increase in the population probably occurred between 1755 and 1770, although unfortunately there are no figures available until the decade of the decline of the fishing, the 1790's. The rapid increase of the town's numbers, particularly in the 1750's, worsened the poverty and hardship resulting from the 1757 grain scarcity and fishing failure. The appointment of Campbeltown as a port of rendezvous in 1750 attracted great numbers of strangers to the town.

By the end of the century, when the fishing was already on the decline, the occupation of sailor dominated all other employments in the town. There were at that time 131 sailors in list of fencible men for the parish of Campbeltown.[39] By the same account there were 54 shipmasters, the second-most popular employment. The third

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[37] T. Pennant, Tour of Scotland (1772), I, 219.

[38] D. Loch, Trade, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries (1798), II, 156.

[39] Return of the numbers of men from fifteen to sixty years of age in the parish of Kilkerran, February 1798, A.E.O. Copy in the papers of D. Colville.

largest group was, in fact, coopers who were very much dependent upon the success of the herring fishing as well. Other trades pale by comparison to the sea-faring ones. The Rev. John Smith lamented the fact that the fishing was the most prominent industry in the town even at the end of the eighteenth century.[40] One of the greatest disadvantages of the employment was its seasonal nature. The fishing usually finished and the herring were sent to market about the middle to the end of January when most of the crew were discharged. A buss that required sixteen or eighteen men in the fishing season needed only six men and a boy for the coasting trade:

> These discharged men either starve at home, till the next fishing season, or adopt the more frequent alternative of seeking employment in America or other foreign countries.[41]

The usual alternative in the Campbeltown area appeared to be to starve at home and this seasonal variation undoubtedly caused considerable hardship in the community.

Agriculture

Agriculture was the main livelihood for the majority of people in the landward parts of the Campbeltown parish and in the parishes in the vicinity of the town. The acres around Campbeltown were arable in a ratio of two to seven according to the county agriculturalist.[42] It was generally calculated that each merkland would support twenty-five head of the native, white-faced sheep, twenty-five head of black cattle, and six horses. The usual breed of cattle

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[40] O.S.A., X, 552.

[41] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), II, 347.

[42] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 308.

cattle was the "true West Highland breed" which were described as:

> short in the legs, round in the body, straight in the back and long in the snout. They are of various colours, black, dun, branded, and brown; but the black is the most common, and the most run upon. When in good condition and from three to four years old, when they are commonly sold off, the carcase may weigh 360 to 400 pounds.[43]

In the district of Kintyre, however, the general opinion was that the cattle were less handsome "but they give more milk."[44] Kintyre in the latter half of the eighteenth century was developing a reputation as a prime dairying area. The primary crops grown were bear, oats, potatoes, and beans. Potatoes were the principal food for the bulk of the people for three-quarters of the year.

> Next to potatoes, the chief attention of the farmer is directed to raising of bear, on which he depends chiefly for his rent, as he does on his potatoes for his subsistence.[45]

Little or no hay was cut. "A considerable quantity" of flax was raised.[46] With the growing distilling industry in the town, the farmer could count on a ready market for his bear, 5000 of the 7634 bolls distilled annually being the produce of the parish.[47] Corn raised in the parish was "by no means sufficient" for the inhabitants and for some time prior to the writing of the statistical account

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[43] Ibid., 235-6.

[44] Ibid., 227.

[45] O.S.A., X, 549.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., 557.

about 2500 bolls of meal were imported annually.[48] One observer reported that the frequent dearths were a direct cause of the amount of bear converted into malt.[49] The sufficiency of potatoes, butter, cheese, and black cattle, however, allowed some "to spare to our neighbours," and it was sent to the Clyde principally on the numerous packet ships.[50]

The neighbouring parishes differed little in method of agriculture from the town parish, sharing the same advantage of fertility. Southend had arable acres to pasture in a ratio of one to five. A few green crops were grown, but the tenants' main efforts were put into potatoes, the main stay of the diet, and bear of which 1800 bolls annually found a market in the Campbeltown distilleries and 400 bolls were distilled locally. A hundred bolls of barley, meal, and potatoes were sold annually near the town and meal was even exported to the Clyde.[51] The Kilchenzie parish was somewhat less fertile, arable in a ratio of one to six. The greatest defect was the "want of a proper intermixture of green and white crops."[52] The beans and pease sown were "not inconsiderable."[53] Turnips were still a novelty.

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[48] Ibid., 550.

[49] T. Pennant, Tour of Scotland (1772), I, 221.

[50] O.S.A., X, 550.

[51] O.S.A., III, 364.

[52] O.S.A., XIX, 630.

[53] Ibid.

The agriculture of Saddell parish, a more mountainous area, was more dependent upon pasture than arable farming and more primitive in its methods as a result. It was in "the same state of non-improvement with every country under similar disadvantages."[54]

The Duke of Argyll as principal landowner in Kintyre, determined the nature and rate of improvement. Little appeared to be attempted before mid-century, although improvement was hinted at in the 1740's. In some leases, enclosures were mentioned. A certain John Orr was recommended for a renewed lease in 1752 on the basis that he was the "first and only farmer that has enclosed his farm in this country."[55] Another tenant claimed that he "burned lime and improved the ground" and then found his tack given to others "who are far from being able to stock the farm."[56] A real effort towards improvement, however, dated from the era of John, 5th Duke of Argyll, after 1770. He made a three-pronged attack on the backwardness of farming in Kintyre by issuing improving leases, by bringing a large group of tenants from the north of England, and by employing a skilled improver in Kintyre. Most of the leases were granted on the condition of making improvements instead of paying increased rents and it was hoped "that the face of the country will soon assume a better appearance."[57]

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[54] O.S.A., XII, 483.

[55] William Finlay to Lord Milton, 13 October 1752, S.C. 172, f. 216.

[56] Memorial by the chamberlain to Lord Milton, 5 November 1757, S.C. Box 416, f. 1.

[57] O.S.A., X, 549.

The usual improvements were draining and enclosing. A handicap was the lack of fuel for burning lime and the few lime kilns in the area. Campbeltown had a few brick kilns,[58] but Southend had only turf kilns, bar one built by an Englishman "for his own use."[59] In Campbeltown and Southend parishes where there was a good number of Lowlanders and English tenants, enclosures were commonplace by the end of the eighteenth century, the number of arable acres were increasing steadily, efforts were made to grow green crops and to rotate crops, and limestone was used increasingly to fertilise the fields. Kilchenzie and Saddell, with farms more remote from the main markets and with tenants less influenced by ideas of improving, changed little by the end of the eighteenth century and still suited grazing better than arable farming. Seaweed remained the common fertiliser when fertiliser was used at all.[60] Short leases, a great number of small tenants, and payment of small items in kind were disadvantages under which these parishes suffered throughout the eighteenth century. The minister of Saddell spoke of infield and outfield in 1791.[61]

Unfortunately, the English tenants brought by the Duke of Argyll made little impact in the vicinity of the town as they "generally adopted, rather than changed the customs of the place."[62]

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[58] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 60-61.

[59] O.S.A., III, 364.

[60] O.S.A., XII, 482.

[61] Ibid., 476.

[62] O.S.A., X, 549-50.

These tenants arrived about 1775-1776 on at least eleven Kintyre farms: Achaloshen, Achinhoan, Ballimenach, Auchincorvey, Ballybrennan, Balnagleck, Carrine, Dalabraddan, Gartnagerach, Kilmory, and Tonrioch.[63] Some surnames, unusual to the Kintyre area, appeared in the Lowland baptismal register from about the same time, such as Waterston, Marmison, Rayside, Horsburgh, Corbett, Jarraway, and Carr.[64] An agricultural society was formed in Kintyre at the end of the century.[65] By the time of the agricultural survey, the use of carts in the vicinity of the town was general and fanners were common. Thrashing machines remained unknown.[66] Small's light plough with two horses was being used instead of the old Scotch plough with four horses.[67] This stimulus for improvement in Kintyre at the end of the eighteenth century was provided largely by the market at Campbeltown. This market determined that bear was the principal crop, largely to the exclusion of other crops. The sure and steady demand of the distilleries, the largest industry in Campbeltown after the herring fishing, meant that bear could replace black cattle as the principal source of income for paying the rents. This encouraged conversion from pasture to arable, although it did little to encourage a variety of crops. There was a lack of green crops grown and a want of wheat. "Growing wheat could save the country £2000

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[63] Tacks to these farms are recorded by parish, 1775-6, A.E. O. Copies in papers of D. Colville.

[64] 1775-1777, L.B.R., II, OPR 507/2.

[65] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 300.

[66] Ibid., 61.

[67] O.S.A., XIX, 630.

annum", the county agriculturalist noted.[68] He, too, attributed this want of wheat or flour to the demand for bear by the distilling industry although he admitted that the tenant got a better price and better payment for his grain since distilling became a widespread industry.[69] Primarily on account of the presence of numerous distillers in Campbeltown by the end of the eighteenth century there was no evidence of any large-scale depopulation of the landward parishes around the town as was more common in other parts of Argyllshire. As the fishing buss bounty payments were phased out in the last decade of the century, the landward parishes probably absorbed some of the surplus population made redundant by the fishing; therefore, the population of Kintyre remained constant rather than showing any signs of large-scale emigrations as might have been expected.

Another factor related to population and, in fact, also relevant to the efforts of agricultural improvement in Kintyre at the end of the eighteenth century, was the availability of fuel. Turf or peat was the common fuel for most of the people and for "the poorer sort" in the town.[70] The ministers of Kilchenzie and Saddell complained of the want of timber and the scarcity of peats. In Kilchenzie "peat mosses are now exhausted," the Rev. Charles Stewart reported in 1792.[71] In Saddell the peats were the only fuel "but were distant in the hills and the process of cutting, drying, and carrying them home

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[68] O.S.A., X, 565.

[69] Ibid., 558.

[70] Ibid., 551.

[71] O.S.A., XIX, 631.

therefore expensive and laborious."[72] The minister of Southend complained of the tax imposed on coals carried coastwise. The coals from the vicinity of Campbeltown, nine or ten miles away were brought to Southend, but were generally "not as good as those to be had in Ballycastle in Ireland."[73] Up to 1790, the complaint of the duty for carrying coals coastwise was a common one:

> Campbeltown can derive but little advantage from its having coal so near it as the price will always keep pace with that which we must pay for coal imported.[74]

About forty carts of local coal a day were consumed in Campbeltown. A cart sold for two shillings seven pence and it was generally thought that three carts made a ton.[75]

The scarcity of fuel, as in most Highland parts at this time, discouraged agricultural improvements. It was difficult to burn lime when the fuel for so doing was expensive or difficult to obtain. The amount of time required to obtain the alternative source of fuel, peat, was also a handicap to improvement:

> At present two or three months of the best season of the year are spent by the farmers, and other inhabitants, in preparing a miserable and precarious kind of fuel.[76]

The distilleries also provided competition for the valuable coal. The availability of coal in the vicinity of the town was an aid to agriculture and manufactures. By the end of the century, as well as the considerable population employed at the coal mines, a number of persons in the town had a direct interest in the mines.

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[72] O.S.A., XII, 483.

[73] O.S.A., III, 364.

[74] O.S.A., X, 566.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

Thirty-six carters resided in Campbeltown in 1798 and two were employed at the "coal ree" or store at the quay.[77] As early as the 1730's, the chamberlain in Kintyre recognised the importance of coal in the vicinity, obviously as a fuel, and secondly, as a stimulus to other manufactures.[78]

Manufactures

The income from various enterprises, other than coal mining, helped to keep the community on the thriving hand in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The business of distilling helped to maintain the population in the countryside, although it was declaimed as "gainful to a few individuals, but extremely ruinous to the community."[79] The increasing trade after 1750 attracted people to the town. There were attempts made to start up various small industries. However, even at the end of the century when the fishing industry was in comparative decline, other occupations followed a long way behind the sea-faring ones in popularity among the town's employed. In 1798, Campbeltown had at least 41 weavers, 28 wrights, 25 shoemakers, and 24 persons who counted themselves as "merchants", at the same time that 131 sailors, 54 shipmasters, and 52 coopers were employed in the town. There was also a diverse sampling of other trades and skills: 17 tailors, 12 smiths, 8 masons, 7 bakers, 5 butchers, 3 hosiers, 3 coppersmiths, and 3 millers. There were pairs of slaters, barbers, nailors and writers, as well as persons who counted their employment as bellman, gardener, watchmaker,

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[77] Return of the numbers of men in Kilkerran, 1798, A.E.O.

[78] Archibald Campbell to the Duke of Argyll, 11 November 1738, S.L. iii, f. 246, GD 14/10/3.

[79] O.S.A., X, 557.

joiner, wheelwright, vintner, fiddler, piper, and messenger. The "canal cutter" was most probably the person employed in making the waterway between the coals at Drumlemble and the town.[80] The 3rd Duke brought a ship and wherry builder from Dublin to "live with us until he teach some prentices his art in building and repairing so necessary for our fishing."[81] The Lowland baptismal registers showed a number of "dealers" residing in the town, presumably trading in goods, probably livestock.[82] There were some unusually cosmopolitan occupations, such as a musician and a bookseller.[83]

It would appear, however, that after the middle of the century, the herring fishing provided the most important single source of employment in the town itself and at least until the 1770's was drawing people from the surrounding countryside. Sailors, shipmasters, coopers, wrights, carpenters, sailmakers, and customs officers were employed in Campbeltown by virtue of this single resource in the seas on the west coast. The occupation of cooper was one which particularly flourished in the latter half of the century with the double demand for barrels for herring and for whisky, but particularly herring. A cash book of the society of coopers began in 1777 when thirty-four persons subscribed ten shillings each for the benefit of "reduced or ailing members of the

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[80] Return of the number of men in Kilkerran, 1798, A.E.O. The numbers for each occupation are conservative ones since the account considered only men between the ages of fifteen and sixty and only men in the Kilkerran part of the parish of Campbeltown, the very centre of the town.

[81] William Finlay, Provost, to Lord Milton, 11 October 1753, S.C. 16682, f. 226.

[82] Lowland Baptismal Register, 1793, II.

[83] Ibid., 1789, 1795, II.

Society or the widows of the members of the society."[84] In 1778, sixty-one journeymen and a number of apprentices joined the society. Many of these men were not only coopers but maltmen or merchants dealing in grain, a usual combination of employment at that time. In a poor fishing season these men had an alternative source of income. It was customary for each fishing buss to carry a cooper and an apprentice. An indenture for an apprentice bound him to serve "on sea and ashore and at the herring fishing during the season thereof."[85] As the system of fishing gradually changed at the end of the eighteenth century, many of the coopers undoubtedly pursued interests related to distilling, either legally or illegally.[86]

In Saddell, a parish with a sheltered harbour the tenantry could gain a supplementary income by part-time participation in fishing, particularly after the phasing out of the buss bounty scheme and the lessening of the government regulations regarding the outfitting of boats. In that parish "most of the small farmers, almost all the young men, are employed in the herring fishing during the season; and the women in the spinning."[87] The rents in that parish were small: six tenants paid fifty to hundred pounds

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[84] Cash book for the Society of Coopers, from 1 April 1777 to 1817, in the papers of D. Colville.

[85] Ibid.

[86] D. Colville, "Origin and Romance of Distilling," 1923, reprinted from the "Campbeltown Courier."

[87] O.S.A., XII, 478.

and the remainder paid between five and thirty pounds.[88] The fishing supplemented the income since three hundred men, most of the male population, were involved in some way with the fishing. There were thirty small wherries of six to ten tons and sixty rowing boats with two men needed for each wherry and four for a boat. In these landward areas the fishing was pursued on a smaller scale than in the town itself with each man getting about twenty pounds at the end of the season and about the same amount going to the owner of the boat.[89] The organised buss fishing could have hurt this side-line in the years from 1750 to 1790. By the last decade of the century, with the phasing out of the bounty payments, a healthy growth in this small-scale fishing could be predicted with perhaps some enticement for young men back to the villages from Campbeltown or at least a lessening incentive for them to move to the town to follow the fishing in the first place.

In the more exposed villages and parishes, such as Southend and Kilchenzie the tenantry prospered under the advantage of farming comparatively fertile fields and supplying the growing distilling industry in the town, and to some extent, in the villages themselves with bear. Other occupations were encouraged in the usual way that increased settlement created work for a large group of weavers, tailors, shoemakers, masons, smiths, and wrights working both in the town itself and in the village. Weaving was, as would be expected, the main way of paying rents with 38 weavers in Kilchenzie alone.[90]

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[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid., 480.

[90] O.S.A., XIX, 629.

At that time Campbeltown had 50 weavers.[91] Kilchenzie also had 19 tailors, 17 shoemakers, 10 blacksmiths, 6 millers, 5 house carpenters, 5 wheelwrights, and 3 masons. A large body of day labourers, 14, found employment. Three distillers were counted in Kilchenzie in the 1790's and 7 innkeepers. There was also a tuckmiller and a dyer. Among the miscellaneous occupations were 3 fiddlers, 2 pipers, a gardener, and the ferryman to Gigha.[92] Similarly, in Saddell the most popular trade was weaving with 9 persons working looms. Also residing in the village were 8 shoemakers, 6 tailors, 4 millers, and 3 wrights. Occupations related to the fishing were the coopers, 3 in number, and a boat carpenter.[93]

The women in the town particularly and to some extent in the villages, were perhaps not as gainfully employed as they might have been had they been more fully involved in the fishing industry of their husbands, such as in making sailcloth and nets. The Rev. John Smith strongly encouraged more work for women to help to pay the rents, feeling that they and the children were "too heavy a burden on the poor sailor."[94] At the time of the writing of the statistical account, the majority of women could only help by "working up fishing nets."[95] If they had been employed making sailcloth and cordage, upwards of three thousand pounds a year might have been

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[91] O.S.A., X, 558.

[92] O.S.A., XIX, 629.

[93] O.S.A., XII, 478.

[94] O.S.A., X, 566.

[95] Ibid., 567.

saved. A small industry did develop which employed

> boys and girls in and about Campbeltown for dressing hemp for the use of the busses there, spinning twine and making and knitting nets.[96]

This appeared to be a short-lived cottage effort, paying its way only as long as the tonnage bounty payments made fishing on a large scale profitable.

The one industry which might have made the women more useful was cloth-making and linen manufacturing. In 1744, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh wrote to the council of Campbeltown as one of many to encourage them to consult with their member of parliament to discover the incentives for establishing a linen manufactory.[97] By 1750, two local merchants were attempting to manufacture linen in the vicinity of the town. William Buchanan and Henry Hook each had a tack to a mill, but they had difficulties obtaining sufficient supplies of flax despite the encouragement the chamberlain of Kintyre was giving to tenants to raise it. For the twenty-five acres of flax raised in 1749 "extravagant prices" were requested and Hook and Buchanan were able to purchase only the produce of eight acres. They requested a tack for a farm next to one of the mills to grow their own crop in order to make themselves self-sufficient, and to "show the farmers by ocular demonstration of the benefit."[98] They did not, in fact, get the farm they requested but another one where they managed to sow an amount which should have produced "upwards of

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[96] D. Loch, Trade, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries of Scotland (1778), II, 159.

[97] 12 December 1744, TCM, II.

[98] Memorandum of William Buchanan and Henry Hook to the Duke of Argyll, 20 September 1749, S.C. Box 407, f. 1.

four hogsheads" of flax in the first year.[99] The growing of flax did not prove successful in the area of the town initially. Buchanan valued the crop in 1751 at two hundred pounds for twenty acres for at that time Hook decided to break away from the partnership and to settle in the Low Country. The value of the crop was a matter of considerable controversy between the two for Buchanan later claimed:

> The lint was so much hurt with the rain, in harvest that upon tryall, it would not defray the charges of dressing it in the lint miln.[100]

He calculated that in that year the loss of flax and "several other misfortunes" cost three hundred pounds.[101] Growing flax, complicated as it was, did not prove popular with the Kintyre tenants nor profitable for the proprietors and apparently most attempts for awhile after 1751 to grow the crop were abandoned. The quarterly customs accounts showed increasing amounts of flax imported from Ireland in the 1750's and in 1759, the town authorised the borrowing of money for the purpose of importing flax seed.[102]

Despite the fact that in 1751 Buchanan complained, "Our lint affairs goe on here very heavily," the mills continued to operate.[103] Plans were made to turn Limecraigs House, the home of the former Dowager Duchess of Argyll into an extensive linen manufactory in 1754. The manufactory would have been a completely self-contained unit with rooms for all the various processes entailed: scutching, heckling, lapping, spinning, boiling, sorting, and weaving, as well as a field

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[99] William Buchanan and Henry Hook to Lord Milton, 24 March 1750, S.C. 16669, ff. 87-8.

[100] A representation from William Buchanan to the Duke of Argyll, 16 October 1754, S.C. 17679, F. 168.

[101] Ibid.

[102] 12 April 1759, TCM, II.

[103] William Buchanan to Duke of Argyll, 4 November 1751, S.C. 16673, ff. 103-4.

for bleaching. One room alone would have slept one hundred and ten persons. At a cost of four hundred pounds for converting the house to a manufactory, itwas little wonder that this ambitious attempt did not materialise.[104]

Although the linen manufacturing continued throughout the century, the merchants lost some of their initial enthusiasm. By 1771, the magistrates expressed a desire to try to recover "the character and credit of the linen yarn and manufacture of this town and country."[105] Some flax was still grown at the end of the century, but unfortunately the linen was exported for the most part "unwrought to the value of near £2000 per annum."[106] There was still only one mill for dressing lint in Kintyre:

> But the farmers generally dress their lint at home, after the harvest is concluded. This may be owing much to the high charge for dressing it in the mill, being two shillings six pence the stone, and drams, or about one quarter of the value of the lint.[107]

Until the last decade of the century, all the linen from Kintyre was exported for bleaching:

> to those bleacheries (in Down and Antrim) the farmers of Galloway and Cantire send their webs to be whitened.[108]

By 1795, bleaching was carried out in Kintyre at the farm of

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[104] Note of the Dimensions of Housing at Limecraigs, 1754, S.C. 17679, ff. 184-5.

[105] 16 February 1771, TCM, III.

[106] O.S.A., X, 558.

[107] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 87.

[108] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), II, 541.

Bleachfield or Strathbeg.[109] The value of the export of linen manufactures and coarse cloths from the whole county was £5000 in the 1790's, presumably a large amount of that from Campbeltown.[110] Also about 1790, a number of young girls were brought from Glasgow to teach and to help to establish the work of tambouring muslins and making collars.[111]

The trade of weaving expanded during the second half of the eighteenth century. The Campbeltown Osnaburg Company was formed in 1749 in an effort to manufacture a type of coarse cloth that resembled that made at Osnaburg in Germany and that had begun to be manufactured in Angus.[112] One weaver in the town requested a tack from the Duke for another workhouse in the town in which he could incorporate six or eight looms for his growing business.[113] Wool exports were only becoming important to the town at the every end of the century when the first large flock of sheep was brought to the Mull of Kintyre. One condition of the leases given to the graziers was that the wool was not to be exported to Ireland, but the entire amount of it to be sold in Kintyre.[114] Wool exports were worth about £3000 annually,[115] but a considerable trade in smuggling appeared to have developed off the west coast of Kintyre.[116]

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[109] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 286.

[110] Ibid., 282.

[111] O.S.A., X, 558.

[112] David Campbell to Lord Milton, 1749, S.C. 16665, ff. 12-13.

[113] Memorial of James Threepland to the Duke of Argyll, 1749, S.C. 17679, ff. 68-9.

[114] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 37.

[115] Ibid., 97.

[116] Collector to Board, 21 July 1791, CE 82/1/11.

Although the flax was sold in yarn, the wool was exported raw. A woollen manufactory was set up at Inverary by the 5th Duke of Argyll, and probably consumed some of Kintyre's six hundred stones of produce.[117]

In summary, by the end of the eighteenth century the herring fishing was still the single-most important source of employment in the town itself and in the Saddell parish. The tenants of these two parishes supplemented their incomes by participating in the fishing, particularly after the government lessened the regulations. The women added to the modest income by spinning and knitting. As the population of the town increased, the population of Saddell decreased with the large busses of Campbeltown obviously offering employment to men from the parish. In the other two parishes, Southend and Kilchenzie, more attention appeared to be paid to the second industry of the town, developing particularly at the very end of the century - distilling. Tenants grew bear in preference to any other crop in hopes of gaining the high prices offered for grain in Campbeltown and even on the Clyde. Weaving appeared to be an occupation of some importance in the actual villages of the landward parishes. Kilchenzie and Southend also showed some signs of depopulation in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The populations would stabilise somewhat as the grain became an increasingly valuable resource in the last twenty years of the eighteenth century. The town itself showed a variety of occupations which would be expected in a community of over eight thousand persons which was still showing signs of growth even as the fishing bounties were phased out. Perhaps the comments of David Loch in the

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[117] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 284.

1770's were too optimistic, but his enthusiastic remarks indicated the bright prospects for a town when one trade nutured another. His comments were reminiscent of the remarks made half a century earlier by the chamberlain of Kintyre in his advice to the 2nd Duke of Argyll on the importance of encouraging trade.[118] Loch said fifty years later:

> Trade, commerce and manufactures, industry, humanity, friendship and benevolence, dwell and flourish among the inhabitants of this happy town and neighbourhood, who from the profits of the fisheries, procure all the conveniencies, and enjoy all the comforts that can be wanted or wished for in this transitory life.[119]

Poor Relief

Despite this apparent increase in trade and the establishment of industries in Campbeltown and the surrounding area in the latter half of the eighteenth century, poverty remained a major problem to such an extent that the minister to the Highland congregation in the town commented that "there is not, perhaps, in Scotland, such an aggregate of miserable objects, in so small a place.[120] The poor listed on the church roll, which did not include "all the indigent in their number," made up a twenty-fifth of the total population. This "uncommon proportion" of poor was attributed to several causes.[121] A number of families came to the town from other parts of Kintyre and the Highlands in hopes of getting employment. Others came simply in anticipation of food:

> The prospect of pursuing the trade of begging to greater advantage, in a place more

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[118] Archibald Campbell to Duke of Argyll, S.L. iii, f. 257, GD 14/10.

[119] D. Loch, Trade, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries (1778), II, 157.

[120] O.S.A., S, 554.

[121] Ibid.

> populous than the neighbourhood, probably induces others to take huts here.[122]

It would be difficult to say whether poverty was becoming more widespread and serious at the end of the eighteenth century than in earlier years. Certainly the statistical accounts and the agricultural surveys of the period would lead to that conclusion, along with the frequently expressed complaints of the effects of the dearths of 1782/3 and in the 1790's. However, the complaint that the town people could not support the poor in the area was one that figured frequently throughout the century in the town council minutes. In the early years, the country people complained of poor from Campbeltown begging in the landward parishes and they demanded that the town folk "pursue and arrest vagabonds."[123] By the 1720's, the number of "idle vagrant sturdy beggars" made the town council find it necessary to make tokens stamped "PC" to be given to the "legitimate" beggars in Campbeltown. All others were forbidden "to begg, sorne, or reside in the burgh."[124] By the middle of the century the situation was sufficiently serious to warrant the town council's attempts to arrest sturdy beggars and vagrant persons.[125] It was even suggested that a poor house might be erected at Campbeltown.[126] Yet despite what would appear to be a serious problem, the chamberlain remarked on the "healthfulness of our poor who generally speaking complain of little else than mere want."[127]

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[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid.

[124] 22 January 1708, TCM, I.

[125] 9 September 1728, TCM, I.

[126] 12 December 1744, TCM, II.

[127] Archibald Campbell of Knockboy to Andrew Fletcher, 10 February 1744, S.L., GD 14/A/17.

One of the more serious harvest failures and subsequent dearths of the eighteenth century occurred in 1757 in the Kintyre area. The problem appeared to begin to worsen in the previous year when inhabitants of the burgh were "oppressed by the number of poor flocking here from distant parts of the shire and the poor of the parish thereby greatly hurt."[128] The scarcity in 1757 placed the poor of the town in such distress that the council gave five pounds of the public funds towards their relief "because of the necessitous situation."[129] The incorporations of craftsmen were requested also to contribute. The inhabitants of southern Kintyre, that is the area around the town, were said to be in greater distress than in the northern part of the peninsula.[130] The government bounties for the fishing which had attracted men to the town in search of work had put an unusual stress upon the food supplies. In 1756, both the harvest and the fishing failed and the larger population of the town suffered severe poverty as a result. Meal was distributed in the town, eighteen bolls given to the magistrates to divide among the tenants in the parish, ten to Southend parish, and twelve to Saddell.[131] Another thousand bolls of "emergency meal" were brought to Campbeltown to supply the 3rd Duke of Argyll's "works", presumably the coal mines, and the needy inhabitants.[132]

The other very serious dearth was the 1782 harvest failure which was felt throughout Scotland. Malting was prohibited in the town and

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[128] 10 June 1756, TCM, II.

[129] 28 April 1757, TCM, II.

[130] Lord Milton to Duke of Argyll, May 1757, S.C. 16698, f. 159.

[131] Chamberlain to Duke of Argyll, 2 July 1757, S.C. 16698, f. 129.

[132] James Campbell, Commissary in Inverary to Lord Milton, 5 March 1757, S.C. 16699, ff. 29-30.

stills were confiscated in an attempt to conserve what bear was available.[133] The town council encouraged landowners in the other parishes to forbid malting in order

> to prevent distilling, the consumption of barley consequent thereupon and increase the quantity of meal for the support of the inhabitants.[134]

That year the council also tried to raise the price of meal in the town "in order to attract importation of grain."[135] A boll of malt sold in the Lowlands for twenty-two shillings, at least a shilling higher than was usually paid in Kintyre.

The last decade of the eighteenth century was another period of dearth in Kintyre, particularly in the last two years of the century. A ban was again placed on distilling in Campbeltown after the bad harvest of 1799 and the heritors were requested to do the same on their estates.[136] In order to keep grain in the district and to bring a greater supply of meal to the market, the price of the boll of oatmeal was raised by the Justices of the Peace and the commissioners of supply to twenty-two shillings a peck "when of sufficient quality."[137] The price of bear meal was raised also. Potatoes, the mainstay of the inhabitants' diet, were selling for twelve shillings a boll wholesale and thirteen shillings four pence a boll retail.[138] The scarcity continued into the next century. The

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[133] 5 January 1783, TCM, III.

[134] 6 March 1783, TCM, III.

[135] Ibid.

[136] 3 December 1799, TCM, IV.

[137] 29 November 1799, TCM, IV.

[138] Ibid.

want of butter, cheese, and potatoes at the town markets was incongruous with the "considerable quantities of all those articles daily carried away to Greenock, Paisley and other places on account of the high prices there."[139] A vessel owned by the brewers James Watt and Company of Greenock was mobbed at the pier and the meal stolen.[140]

The poverty in the latter half of the century appeared to be of a different nature from the early years of the century. Earlier real dearth or want was the issue: insufficient supplies of meal to feed the growing population. In the scarcities after mid-century - 1757, 1783, and 1799 - the problem appeared to be inflationary: high prices and conflicting demands for limited supplies at the expense of the poor. As the trade between Campbeltown and the Clyde increased after mid-century, particularly after the establishment of the herring buss fishing, prices as well as weights and measures were increasingly regulated by merchants in Greenock, Port Glasgow, Irvine, and Saltcoats. These high prices paid for food supplies in the Clyde attracted local merchants to export goods and to gain the high profits which could be made. The result was a dearth of grain in Kintyre. It has been suggested that the want and the poverty at the end of the eighteenth century was perhaps not as serious as the distress caused in earlier days by poor harvests and lack of food supplies. That the hardship might be any less severe has little foundation; in fact, the poverty and want in Campbeltown was of considerable concern judging by the frequency that this complaint

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[139] 10 October 1800, TCM, IV.

[140] 6 December 1800, TCM, IV.

occurred in the council records in the last fifty years of the century. That the problem might have been one of distribution rather than one of production does not mean that those on the poor list received any more of the food supplies than ever they did. There is ample evidence to suggest that the price of grain on the Clyde was always the first factor in the mind of the Campbeltown merchant.

The parishes in Kintyre did not adopt the scheme of legal assessment, a compulsory local tax, to help the poor of the parishes. The poor were supported partly by begging and partly by weekly collections of the kirk. The collections of the two established congregations and the interest from a small fund enabled the kirk session of Campbeltown to contribute seven pounds every six weeks among upwards of a hundred of the most needy who were in the church and "a trifle" to about sixty more at the annual dispensation of the sacrament of the Lord's supper "when the collection commonly exceeded twenty pounds."[141] This system resulted in the Rev. John Smith concluding that the poor "may be said to be supported by the poor."[142] The congregation of the Relief Church "who are among the ablest of the common people keep their collection to themselves."[143] He complained further that many of the affluent and upper ranks of the two established congregations "neither come often to church, nor send their offering."[144] By 1798, the time of the publication of the agricultural survey, Smith had come to favour an assessment.[145] Before this time he had felt that the assessments were not desirable

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[141] O.S.A., X, 556.

[142] Ibid., 554.

[143] Ibid., 555.

[144] Ibid.

[145] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 49.

but that they would be unavoidable.[146] Not until 1818, however, was such a system of poor relief used in the Campbeltown parish.[147]

The landward parishes also had a difficult time supporting the poor on their lists. In Southend, the poor on the parish register numbered twenty-four and twelve pounds per year was distributed occasionally "according to their needs."[148] There was "no mortification or other fund of provision and some of them are under the necessity of going to beg."[149] Twenty-two were listed on the parish roll in Kilchenzie at the time of the statistical account. The amount of annual distribution among them was twenty-five pounds "wholly collected from the offerings of the tenants, tradesmen, servants, and cottagers for of the eight heritors of the parish, none resides."[150] Throughout the eighteenth century, however, support of the poor in all the Kintyre parishes remained by voluntary giving rather than by legal assessments and compulsory taxation. The poor were accepted as a communal responsibility, the charge of relatives first and foremost and fellow parishioners secondly. As the community grew in size, particularly in Campbeltown itself, the contrast between different sections of the community became greater. At that time, the problem of travelling beggars became more of a concern, at first on account of the fishing and later on account of the failure of the fishing. Judging by the accounts of visitors to Campbeltown at the end of the century, it was the type of burgh

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[146] O.S.A., X, 556.

[147] N.S.A., VII, 467.

[148] O.S.A., III, 368.

[149] Ibid.

[150] O.S.A., XIX, 629.

which could put on a face of opulence for the stranger which made it easy to overlook the social problems.

Church

A surprising diversity of religious opinion was evident in Campbeltown by the middle of the eighteenth century. Two-thirds of the population were Highlanders or belonged to the Highland charge of the established church. The other third were Lowlanders, or members of the Lowland established kirk. In 1767, two-thirds of this Lowland congregation officially seceded and formed the congregation of Relief, the wealthiest of the three congregations.[151] This Relief congregation was also the most interesting and the most informative of the Campbeltown charges. It was the strongest of the churches, not only because of its wealth but also because of its enthusiasm and its independence.

The original Lowland congregation was formed in the seventeenth century when a group of incomers applied for a minister to preach to them in their own language in "an old thatch'd house in Campbeltown, which house was keep'd in repair solely at the congregation's expense and the stipend also paid by them!" [152] When the charge became vacant in 1694, they wanted another minister "for no other in the country preach'd in the English language."[153] They chose for themselves the Rev. James Boes who later advised the congregation to apply to the Commission for Plantation of Kirks and Valuation of Teinds for a a stipend. They received this stipend in 1696,a thousand merks Scots with forty pounds for communion elements. This application and re-

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[151] O.S.A., X, 546.

[152] "A Short Detail of the Hardships," in the Minute Book of the Managers of the Relief Church of Campbeltown, 1767.

[153] Ibid.

sulting stipend was the first step towards loss of independence of the Lowland congregation. The second came in 1706 when the thatched house was found to be too small and "too ruinous."[154] A slated building was erected in its place mostly at the congregation's expence, but with a thousand pounds Scots from the Synod and a small amount from the Dowager Duchess of Argyll.[155]

The consequences of these two moves were not felt until 1749 at the death of Mr. Boes after fifty-five years in the parish. Despite their numerous petitions to the 3rd Duke, the Lowlanders' rights to choose their own minister was ignored. To add insult to injury, it was claimed that

> several people in the neighbourhood, known enemies to the place and interest of the Lowland congregation were very busie with the Duke in opposition to them, and said many things prejudicial to their interest.[156]

Eighteen years of controversy followed after the 3rd Duke gave the charge to the Rev. John McAlpine of Arrochar without consulting the congregation. It was said that he had a large concurrence in the Presbytery of Kintyre but the Lowlanders alleged that it was an assembly made up of members of the Highland congregation. They also charged that McAlpine, after settling into his post, managed to get several farmers who had shown opposition to him turned out of their farms "as turbulent disturbers of the peace."[157]

The primary worry of the Lowland congregation was their lack of independence in determining their own minister. Thereafter, other differences began to arise. The Lowlanders felt that once the Kintyre

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[154] Ibid.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Ibid.

clergy had "a man of their own complection" they began to change their manner of preaching:

> Their attendance upon two or three sacramental occasions through the summer was a great hindrance to another lucrative business in which for the most part they were deeply engaged, farming and grazing.[158]

There is evidence in the Kintyre leases to suggest that the ministers of the several parishes often had tacks to farms.[159] The Rev. McAlpine was, in fact, on occasion "considerably in arrears" to the Duke of Argyll and to others.[160] The Rev. David Campbell, minister of Southend parish, had the farm of Machrimore, where he had been "at considerable expence by enclosing and laying down under clover and rye grass."[161] The Lowlanders could give examples of some ministers leaving their churches vacant for two months while they visited their farms. The Lowland congregation objected to the practice of giving sermons only on the Sabbath and the Thursday preceding the celebration of the Lord's supper and they met with the Synod on several occasions to object.[162] In 1757, they sent two representatives to the General Assembly. The result of all these efforts was not what the Lowlanders had hoped, but rather the formation of a collegiate congregation made up of both Highland and Lowland kirks. When there was controversy over the state of disrepair of the manse which McAlpine occupied, he appealed to the

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[158] Ibid.

[159] Memorial of David Campbell, 8 November 1760, S.C. Box 420, f. 2. Tack to the Rev. Charles Stewart and his heirs, 24 October 1753, S.C. Box 411, f. 1.

[160] Archibald Campbell to Lord Milton, 2 February 1758, S.C. 16703, ff. 150-1.

[161] Memorial of David Campbell, 8 November 1760, S.C. Box 420, f. 2.

[162] Archibald Campbell to Lord Milton, 23 April 1757, S.C. 16698.

collegiate congregation and the Lowlanders lost their lease to it.[163]

When the Rev. John McAlpine had a disagreement with the minister of the Highland charge, the Rev. Charles Stewart, prospects brightened for the Lowlanders and he began to accommodate their wishes in 1762 regarding communion. Unfortunately, just when the relationship between minister and congregation was improving, McAlpine died and the whole controversial process of choosing a minister stirred again. Once more, despite petitions to the 3rd Duke, a successor was appointed without consulting the congregation. Since this successor was, in fact, a Dr. George Robertson, assistant to the Rev. John McAlpine, there was little chance of his appealing to even the most compromising of the Lowlanders. They alleged that since he had come to the town as a schoolmaster, he had shown "supercilious and haughty behaviour" towards Lowlanders.[164] The call was given eventually but none of the Lowland congregation signed it except three, "one of who was chamberlain to the family of Argyll and was obliged to do it."[165] The objectors now took a strong stance with James Armour and Archibald Galbreath on behalf of the congregation taking the protest to the presbytery, with objections including the manner of selection of the minister and his lack of qualifications. William Finlay and Charles Rowatt journeyed to London to lay the matter before the Duke. The outcome of the situation was that the petition by the Lowlanders was ignored and therefore a majority of the members of that congregation decided to support the efforts to establish a new kirk. They purchased land from Baillie Orr on Longrow and, despite

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[163] "A Short Detail of the Hardships," in the Minute Book of the Managers of the Relief Church, 1767.

[164] Ibid.

[165] Ibid.

actual physical opposition, they began building a church on their own. When the kirk was almostcompleted, a group of Antiburghers approached the congregation, but "got no countenance as neither their principles nor their communion were agreeable."[166] In 1767, the congregation joined the Presbytery of Relief.[167]

The case for the Relief kirk tended to appear very one-sided, primarily because their memorial relating their grievance is comprehensive and strongly worded. The arguments for the opposition appear in no such cohesive form and one has to piece together their case. Putting the actions of the 3rd Duke in the best light, it would appear that he had some interest in attempting to heal the breach between the two sections of the town. The distinction between Lowland and Highland even in the middle of the eighteenth century was still a sharp one and made itself evident in disagreements in the town council over schools and churches, and in commercial matters, particularly distilling. The parish of Southend was similarly divided. In 1749, the Duke was being advised to make a collegiate congregation in Campbeltown:

> There have been frequent divisions in this parish occasioned chiefly by foolish distinctions made betwixt the Highland and Lowland congregations to the great disturbance of both town and country.[168]

The best known members of the Lowland congregation were among the most powerful magistrates and influential merchants in the town. In 1749, Provost Robert McColme and Baillies Alexander Johnston, David Watson and Archibald Fleming were the leading lights of the Lowland

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[166] Ibid.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Robert Campbell to Archibald Campbell, 23 July 1749, S.C. 16665, ff. 112-3.

kirk. Another leading magistrate, lawyer Peter Stewart, a member of the Highland congregation warned the Duke about "villain" Francis Farquharson.[169] Farquharson was the owner of the largest vessels in the town and he carried on the most active trade. He was also one of the chief spokesmen for the Lowland congregation. After the actual presentation in 1749, that of McAlpine, the leaders settled down into an unhappy agreement. Without these spokesmen, the rest of the mob, "cottars, weavers, tailors and servants in the country and common tradesmen in Campbeltown" were little worry.[170] "Their rage will soon cool as they have no man of note to head them," the Duke was advised.[171]

However, these men of note stayed in the background for when the issued flared up again in 1762, these same names were the spokesmen for the cause once again: Watson, Orr, Galbreath, Armour, and Farquharson.[172] This new congregation of Relief was unusual in its wealth and in its importance. It was a collection of the leading town councillors of Campbeltown and the wealthiest merchants. The Rev. John Smith, minister of the Highland established church, referred on more than one occasion to the wealth of this independent Relief kirk who took nothing to do with the affairs of the combined Highland and Lowland charge after 1767.[173] Pennant also observed that the Lowlanders in 1772

> still keep themselves distinct from the old inhabitants, retain the zeal of their ancestors, are obstinately adverse to patronage

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[169] Peter Stewart to Lord Milton, 24 August 1749, S.C. 16668, ff. 106-7.

[170] Neal McNeal to Lord Milton, 2 October 1749, S.C. 16667, ff. 121-3.

[171] Ibid.

[172] "A Short Detail of the Hardships," in the Minute Book of the Managers of the Relief Church of Campbeltown, 1767.

[173] O.S.A., X, 555.

> but are esteemed the most industrious people in the country.[174]

They had possession "of almost all of the best farms" and by 1767 these Lowlanders possessed all the malting business "and admitted none but their own persuasion to it."[175] The occupations of the subscribers to the funds for the Relief church also showed the nature of that congregation. The largest number of signers were tenants, primarily from the best farms in the vicinity of the town, 71 in number. The large number of merchants, 30, and shipmasters, 24, showed the mercantile interests of that congregation. Also listed were 17 coopers, 15 maltmen, and 14 weavers. On the list were only 11 sailors, the scarcity of this occupation interesting since sailors were the most numerous of the town's inhabitants. This helps to support the assertion that the congregation was a wealthy one, made up of trading and malting interests primarily. The poorer sort in the town, the sailors and lesser tradesmen belonged to the Highland congregation. Also on the list were 9 wheelwrights, 5 smiths, 5 masons, 5 carters, 3 coppersmiths, 3 schoolmasters, and 3 merchant tailors. There were a surgeon, writer, town officer, changekeeper, ship carpenter, baker, sailmaker, clothier, and boatman.[176]

The seceding congregation was large in numbers as well as in wealth and influence. About two-thirds of the original Lowland congregation helped to build the new kirk in 1767, forming a group of about two thousand by the 1790's.[177] Those who remained in the established Lowland kirk with Dr. Robertson were said to be mostly local lairds and their followers and dependants of the Argyll family.

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[174] T. Pennant, Tour of Scotland (1772), I, 220.

[175] Ibid.

[176] "A Short Account of the Hardships," in the Minute Book of the Managers of the Relief Church of Campbeltown, 1767.

[177] O.S.A., X, 546.

It can be said in favour of Dr. Robertson that he did manage to rebuild the congregation of the original Lowland kirk with some success for when the Castlehill church was erected in the 1780's for that congregation, only twelve years after the secession, accommodation had to be provided for 1063 persons.[178] Undoubtedly, the increasing population in the town in the 1760's and 1770's on account of the fishing and prospering trade, had a lot to do with the successful growth of the original church.

The Highland church appeared to suffer most at the end of the eighteenth century. Having incurred considerable expense in building the Castlehill church for the Lowlanders, the heritors immediately found themselves faced with the problem of providing suitable accommodation for the Gaelic-speaking congregation. The Rev. John Smith, supported by the Presbytery of Kintyre, continued to press for a new church for his people, in the meantime using the Castlehill building, and in the end he was successful. In 1791, the Presbytery obtained estimates for a Highland church to hold 1866 persons. The church was not finally completed until 1806, however.[179] Meanwhile the Relief church on Longrow was large, well-constructed, and well-maintained. At the end of the century, the ministers of the two established churches received £36-13-4 sterling per annum plus three chalders eight pekcs of bear. "That of the Relief congregation is much better," reported the Rev. John Smith.[180]

Significantly, there was no evidence of radicalism in this seceding congregation. On the contrary, it appeared to be the very

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[178] 7 May 1778, Campbeltown Heritors' Minute Book, HR 67/1.

[179] 1778-1821, ibid.

[180] O.S.A., X, 546.

establishment of the community itself. The occasional mention of any radical elements such as methodists street preaching and baptising was dealt with quickly and sharply by Highlanders, Lowlanders, and members of the Relief congregation alike in the minutes of the town council and in the kirk session records.[181] The secession of the group of Lowlanders was not a show of religious liberty or a statement of radical religious belief, rather it was an attempt to display a degree of independence and an effort by a congregation to maintain the distinctions which had been evident since the time of plantation.[182]

Schools

Campbeltown in the eighteenth century was comparatively well-endowed with a number of schools, although the teaching was not always of the highest standard perhaps. A burgh grammar school existed throughout the century. Latterly it had two masters, one teaching classical subjects and the other teaching the "modern" school. There was also a charity school "some years established" by 1792 supported by the Duke of Argyll and the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge.[183] The selection of schoolmasters and the negotiations of salaries occupied a considerable amount of the town council's time in the eighteenth century.

In 1704, the Dowager Duchess of Argyll "mortified during her lifetime ane hundreth pounds Scots money yeirlie" for the schoolmaster expecting the magistrates and council to do the same.[184]

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[181] See for example 20 January 1788, TCM, IV.

[182] C. Bede, Glencreggan: or a Highland Home in Cantire (1861), I, 181.

[183] O.S.A., X, 555.

[184] 23 November 1704, TCM, I.

The council agreed at that time, but by 1708 schoolmaster Grier was complaining of arrears in his salary.[185] The council disagreed about whether the salary of a hundred merks was to be paid annually or whether it "was not meant to be permanent."[186] The majority of council agreed to pay arrears but they thought that a hundred merks was too much for the future. Three members favoured fifty merks only and six members were "against any payment of this salary at all."[187] At this time half of the salary was paid out of the common good and half was raised from a yearly stent. A sum of forty-five pounds was agreed upon.[188] The scholars "both town and landward" paid the master one shilling six pence Scots quarterly in lieu of a schoolhouse.[189] The salary was still poorly paid and arrears were often claimed by the master and raised by stent five years later.[190] At that time the school occupied the Highland church. In 1718, a small schoolhouse, thirty-two feet long by fifteen feet wide and six feet high, was constructed.[191] The next occasion of reporting the salary was for its conversion to sterling in 1729 when the master was receiving twelve pounds per annum paid in equal amounts at Martinmas and Whitsunday. He was allowed also eight pence in the pound free rent by way of salary.[192]

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[185] 14 September 1708, TCM, I.

[186] 28 September 1708, TCM, I.

[187] Ibid.

[188] 11 October 1708, TCM, I.

[189] 16 February 1710, TCM, I.

[190] 13 January 1713, TCM, I.

[191] 13 March 1718, TCM, I.

[192] 18 March 1729, TCM, I.

Needless to say, with the comparatively meagre and ill-paid salary, schoolmasters of quality were few and far between in the burgh school of Campbeltown. They were often blamed for the waywardness of scholars as well. A complaint was lodged with the council in 1724 concerning "the frequent importunitys of persons of all sorts for play" in both the grammar school and "oyr publick English schools."[193] The council decided that "no play" was allowed on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday and none on Tuesday and Thursday before two p.m. and any offending master who allowed such would be penalised.[194] On other occasions, the schoolmasters were reprimanded by the council or by the kirk session. A Mr. John Dickson, school master, was examined by a combined committee because of the dissatisfaction "with his skill in grammar and with his lameness in expounding authors and his method of teaching and discipline."[195] When it was proposed that the heritors help to augment the stipend of the schoolmasters in the "grammar school and English school in the town and several other schools in different parts of the parish," the heritors refused because "they were out of purse paying for man and office houses."[196]

The schoolmasters were selected by the magistrates and council along with the Highland minister. In 1748, council decided that the burgh school required the services of an additional teacher. This new teacher was designated "English teacher" to differentiate him from the schoolmaster who taught Latin and classical subjects. The selection

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[193] 18 August 1724, TCM, I.

[194] Ibid.

[195] 21 April 1715, Kirk Session Records, in possession of Longrow Church, Campbeltown.

[196] 19 March 1715, ibid.

of a master could cause considerable controversy in the council, apparently on account of the Highland and Lowland distinctions. The council and magistrates along with the minister of the Highland church, Rev. Charles Stewart, Mr. Robert Gillan, "preacher of the gospel," and Mr. Francis Scott, Grammar schoolmaster, on one occasion examined the two principal candidates and selected Mr. Robert Maxwell to enter the school and to teach English with Mr. Scott. His pay was a mere five pounds sterling per annum "notwithstanding of the advertisement in the Edinburgh Courant."[197] The supporters of Mr. Ebenezer Knibloc, the unsuccessful applicant, immediately lodged a protest against Maxwell alleging that he was favoured merely because he could teach Irish and would work for half the salary. The assistant was to teach principles of religion, English, writing, arithmetic, and to have charge of church music. Maxwell admitted that he could not teach English "after the new method but would go to Glasgow to learn."[198] The protestors on this occasion were Provost Robert McColme, Daniel Watson, Archibald Fleming, John Campbell, and Francis Farquharson, the same men who a year later formed the core of the Lowland congregation in their battle over patronage. The school issue, therefore, would appear to be connected with the disagreement between the two established churches, particularly considering that the selecting committee included the minister and his assistant from the Highland charge, that the successful candidate spoke "Irish", and that he agreed to be session clerk for the Highland congregation. The reply to the protest was that the common good needed the five pounds that could be saved and that the numbers of people both in town and country who

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[197] 10 August 1748, TCM, II.

[198] 16 August 1748, TCM, II.

understood no English made it "unchristian" to chose a candidate who did not speak Gaelic. Robert Maxwell became the schoolmaster in 1748 and a year later Robert Gillan, the same "preacher of the Gospel," became temporary minister to the Lowland congregation at the death of Mr. James Boes.

The grammar school continued in a poor state, however, for more than three decades after this dispute. The "low condition to which the school for this burgh is reduced" was blamed primarily on the age and infirmity of the master in 1759.[199] In October that year the council decided to increase the salary in hopes of enticing "a schoolmaster of character."[200] The commissioners of supply allowed up to twenty-two pounds sterling for salary and they also tried to raise additional sums from voluntary subscriptions of the principal inhabitants.[201] When Mr. Scott died two months later, the council entered into an agreement with a Mr. John Hastie which proved to be the ruination not only of the burgh school, but also of burgh finances. Mr. Hastie agreed to accept a salary of thirty pounds sterling yearly with twenty pounds paid from the common good and ten pounds paid from the commissioners of supply. He agreed to pay his assistant, Dr. George Robertson who was also assistant to the Highland church minister at that time, five pounds sterling annually. The fees paid by pupils for each subject were also increased:

> For teaching Latin or Greek, per quarter, 5s
> For teaching English, 5s
> For teaching English and writing, 3s
> For teaching arithmetic, 3s
> For teaching navigation, 1 guinea
> For teaching bookkeeping, 1½ guineas[202]

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[199] 12 October 1759, TCM, II.

[200] Ibid.

[201] Ibid.

[202] 29 December 1759, TCM, II.

Dr. Robertson lasted only two years in his post as assistant, for in 1762 he became minister to the Lowland kirk, much to the distress of that congregation.

By 1767, it was thought that the quality of Mr. Hastie's teaching was sufficiently poor to warrant an official complaint against him in the records of the town council. He was disregarding school hours to the neglect of his duties, "his being concerned in trade and other business incompatible with the due and faithful discharge of the duties of a schoolmaster."[203] A fortnight later he was given twenty-four hours to vacate his post.[204] The council decided to advertise the position of rector of the grammar school in the "Edinburgh Evening Courant" with the stipulation that "such person shall be expressly restricted from having any concern in trade or other business that may interfere with the due discharge of the duties of his office."[205] The coincidence of Mr. Hastie's dismissal in 1767 at the time of the establishment of the Lowland Relief congregation in Campbeltown leads to speculation again that there may have been an element of religious controversy involved in Hastie's dismissal, as well as his involvement in the trade of the burgh.

Thereafter, the burgh was unable to attract a candidate of any quality to the post, since the financial arrangements became even more dubious. Hastie took his case before the court of session and the town became involved in an expensive law suit and had to raise funds for that purpose before they could think of paying a master's salary.[206] Hastie's assistant, a Mr. Dallachy, became temporary

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[203] 8 August 1767, TCM, II.

[204] 31 August 1767, TCM, II.

[205] 8 March 1768, TCM, II.

[206] 25 May 1768, TCM, II.

rector, but he died shortly after.[207] The council could not then be responsible for more than ten pounds of the salary.[208] Even the schoolmaster at the Southend parish school, Mr. James Doig, could not be attracted to the position "upon such uncertainty."[209] The rector of the grammar school at Inverary was recommended for the position, but seemingly decline also when he was informed "of his hazard with regard to the lawsuit of Mr. Hastie."[210] By 1771, the heritors of the parish were imposed upon to offer further financial aid to relieve the "distressed situation of the burgh for want of a public grammar school."[211] Since 1769 no schoolmaster could be persuaded to accept the position. Col. Charles Campbell of Barbreck agreed to loan the money necessary to prosecute the case of John Hastie.[212] The 5th Duke agreed to remit a debt of fifty pounds in order to enable the council to proceed in building a "proper schoo-house" on Castlehill.[213] Neither step brought a solution to the problems, however. In 1773, the assistant or doctor of the school, Mr. James Johnston, was removed for "the English school is upon a bad footing," and the grammar schoolmaster, Mr. John Watson, was to

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[207] 30 August 1769, TCM, III.

[208] Ibid.

[209] 5 September 1769, TCM, III.

[210] 20 November 1770, TCM, III.

[211] 25 May 1771, TCM, III.

[212] Ibid.

[213] 29 October 1771, TCM, III.

provide a proper person to teach writing and arithmetic. The Campbeltown magistrates lost the case with Hastie and they were still collecting funds, this time for the appeal.[214] The new school was not constructed, however, and the next decade the complaint was still being lodged "that the health of pupils may suffer" as a result of overcrowded conditions for the scholars.[215] The case with Hastie was resolved eventually in favour of the Campbeltown magistrates, but not without a great deal of expense and loss of reputation for the school. At the end of the century, the Argyll schoolmaster was, according to John Smith, "depressed and despised and often obliged to subsist on an income inferior to that of a ploughman."[216]

By the end of the eighteenth century, the distinction between the "two schools" within the burgh grammar school was disappearing. The town had one "good school," the grammar school, with two masters.[217] The favour for most of the century had been given to the classical or Latin part in which Latin, Greek, geography, and rhetoric were taught. However, the balance was shifting to give more importance to the commercial or "English" part where writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping and navigation were taught. The salary of the master of this "modern" school was increasing steadily while that of the other schoolmaster remained constant, the fees for the commercial subjects were rising, and the parents and scholars were given more freedom in crossing the boundary between the schools. Writing, arithmetic, navigation, bookkeeping and French were to be

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[214] 8 February 1773, TCM, III.

[215] 19 July 1786, TCM, III.

[216] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 45.

[217] O.S.A., X, 555.

taught in both schools "for the option of the parents of the scholars."[218] The council decided that

> in case any of the Latin scholars incline to take a lesson in English instead of to perfect themselves, Mr. Thomson the Rector shall have it in his power to give them such an English lesson.[219]

The salary paid in 1792 was twenty pounds by the heritors and ten pounds to the doctor paid by the council.[220]

As well as the burgh grammar school, there were also charity schools in the town supported by the Duke of Argyll and the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, "which for many years, contained above a hundred children."[221] There were no charity schools in the parish apart from the ones in the town, although apparently by the end of the eighteenth century there was need for additional ones: "two or more are about to be erected in the country" and application had been made to the SSPCK in 1792.[222] The other parishes were less well-endowed. Kilchenzie had four schools in the parish by 1792: one was supported by "Royal Bounty," two by the heritors, and one by the SSPCK.[223] Southend had one parochial school "with a good house accommodated with four acres of land given by the Duke of Argyll at a moderate rent."[224] Saddell was less fortunate in its educational facilities with no parochial school existing and therefore no charity school either. Application was made in 1778 to the SSPCK but no aid was forthcoming on the grounds that there was no parish school. The minister argued that the lack of a

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[218] 25 February 1797, TCM, IV.

[219] Ibid.

[220] O.S.A., X, 555.

[221] Ibid.

[222] Ibid., 561.

[223] O.S.A., XIX, 629

[224] O.S.A., III, 367.

school was"for the obvious reason, that one parochial school would be of little benefit in this parish on account of its great length and comparative narrowness."[225] The SSPCK actually did establish a school at Skipness for "reading" but it was of such a distance that it was of little use to the population at Saddell.[226]

In 1785, the town council recorded a need for a woman "to teach sewing and other branches of female education."[227] However, although the need for a person to instruct in various kinds of needlework, knitting stockings, and other branches of female education was acknowledged, the funds of the burgh did not allow for any payment of salary.[228] By 1789, however, the magistrates managed to raise five pounds yearly to pay Miss Jean Stewart.[229] The success of the school in teaching needlework, morals, and behaviour was a recognised fact by the end of the eighteenth century.[230] The other parishes also had some form of women's education by the end of the century. Kilchenzie had two "sewing mistresses."[231] A schoolmistress taught knitting and sewing at Skipness for six pounds annually in 1793.[232]

Although it is possible to determine some considerable detail about the burgh schools and the Society's charity schools, records

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[225] O.S.A., XII, 486.

[226] Ibid.

[227] 19 July 1785, TCM, III.

[228] 24 May 1786, TCM, III.

[229] 21 September 1789, TCM, IV.

[230] 21 November 1796, TCM, IV.

[231] O.S.A., XIX, 629.

[232] O.S.A., XII, 486.

do little to document other efforts of educating the young, although there undoubtedly was considerable diversity in the educational establishments at the end of the century with a good number of schools possibly taught "on adventure." At the end of the seventeenth century, a surprising number of schoolmasters were recorded in the baptismal registers.[233] With the town's population increasing rapidly, it is tempting to speculate on the increase in the number of schools and masters although there was little actual evidence in support of such multiplicity. The list of fencible men in the parish in 1798 recorded only three schoolmasters, although some masters were perhaps not of an age to be included on the list.[234] The concern and interest of the town council in running the burgh school and the curriculum offered was an admirable effort on the part of the town; the failing, if there was one, was in lack of funds, the common problem in the town at the end of the eighteenth century in so many matters from rebuilding quays to repairing roads. The quality of the schoolmasters was determined to some extent by the availability or lack of funds.

Improvements in Campbeltown

A great enthusiasm for building was apparent in the town in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The town was surveyed and a plan drawn up in 1754 apparently with improvements in mind.[235] The limiting factor, at least as far as the town's magistrates were con-

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[233] Lowland Baptismal Register, OPR 507/1.

[234] Return of the numbers of men from fifteen to sixty years of age in the parish of Kilkerran, February 1798, A.E.D.

[235] Observations on the Plan of Campbeltown, 1754, S.C. 17679, ff. 182-3. See app. 14.

cerned, was finance. The town had no property so their resources depended primarily upon their "ladles" or collections in provisions brought into the town for sale, a tax which amounted to a sixty-fourth of a boll of grain. The tack profits from the mill could be a valuable asset in good years. Harbour dues and sale of church seats provided the only other meagre incomes.[236] The plan of 1754 appeared to be designed for siting and construction of a new quay, south of the old one and for the repair of the first one.[237] From 1749 to 1757, this improvement was pursued with the greatest of interest from the town council. In 1749, twenty to thirty pounds sterling was paid out for this purpose.[238] In 1751, the town raised another forty pounds, largely by local taxation.[239] In 1753, the magistrates inquired into other ways of raising money for this purpose.[240] They employed four men full time to oversee the building and they established a subscription fund.[241] Inhabitants of the town were required to offer their labour in the usual manner.[242] By 1756, the achievements at the quayside were satisfactory for the time being, for the harbour dues were upgraded considerably that year.[243] However, these inflated charges were reduced four years later.[244] An interest in the quays was shown again at the end of the century with expense of

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[236] O.S.A., X, 551.

[237] Observations on the Plan of Campbeltown, 1754, S.C. 17679, ff. 182-3.

[238] 27 January 1749, TCM, II.

[239] 5 July 1751, TCM, II.

[240] 10 March 1753, TCM, II.

[241] 17 March 1753, TCM, II.

[242] 24 January 1752, TCM, II.

[243] 4 November 1757, TCM, II.

[244] 26 May 1761, TCM, II.

the ever-pressing repairs calling upon the town's limited resources. The council again raised the anchorage dues in 1795 since they were

> Much below what is paid in name of town dues to our neighbouring burghs who have not so good a harbour nor such conveniency for shipping, landing, and selling of goods.[245]

The council turned its efforts to improving the high roads of the burgh and the tolbooth in 1757. The sum of £13-9s-9½d was granted to the fund for the roads.[246] The tolbooth was in such a poor state by the middle of the century that the council decided it, too, needed to be rebuilt. After all the enthusiasm and enterprise in building quays and roads it was little wonder that the town council had to borrow money, three hundred pounds, for these purposes, the first occasion of borrowing.[247] These improvements were accomplished, but in 1759 the town was in a serious financial state.[248] The magistrates raised the entrance money for people wanting freedom of the burgh in 1761 for the lesser sum only suited when

> the Burgh was in its infancy and the freedom of it not to be so valuable as it is now.[249]

By the end of the century, a road of some description existed the length of the west coast of the peninsula.[250] The lack of bridges along it would render its value somewhat dubious, however. The minister of Saddell parish claimed that the road down the east coast of the peninsula was preferable in many respects: "It is equally short,

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[245] 5 September 1795, TCM, IV.

[246] 15 November 1756; 25 August 1758, TCM, II.

[247] 4 November 1757, TCM, II.

[248] 16 January 1759, TCM, II.

[249] 3 July 1761, TCM, II.

[250] 1778, Minutes of Kintyre Road Trustees, CO 6/3/5/1, Strathclyde Regional Archives.

and much more pleasant."[251]

The town magistrates also showed an interest in the canal-building. Two proposals for a canal connecting the area of the Clyde to the western seas were considered: one at the isthmus of Tarbert and one at Loch Gilp to Loch Crinan.[252] The cutting at Tarbert would have been shorter, but the Crinan proposal was considered to have more advantages. The cutting was surveyed for five or six miles and it was calculated that a voyage which took three weeks could be shortened to three or four days through a canal at Crinan.[253] The construction was "carrying on with great spirit" in the last decade of the eighteenth century at a cost of eighty thousand pounds.[254] Campbeltown, in effect, derived its trading importance in the eighteenth century from its advantageous position near the Mull of Kintyre:

> When it is considered that all vessels to or from the Clyde must pass the Mull of Kintyre, and that all vessels from Liverpool, and the west of England, and Scotland and eastern ports of Ireland to or from Holland and the Baltic must pass through the minets it will appear not a little surprising that these two necessary works (canal and lighthouse) should have been so long delayed.[255]

In many ways, the delay was fortunate for Campbeltown merchants because the longer voyage channelled the traffic through the port during these decades of colonial trade and buss fishing. By the time the work was finished, under great financial difficulties in July 1801,

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[251] O.S.A., XII, 478-9.

[252] Testimony of James Anderson in "Third Report of the Fisheries," 1785, 161.

[253] J. Knox, View of the British Empire (1785), II, 449.

[254] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 279.

[255] J. Anderson in "Third Report on the Fisheries," 1785, 213.

the canal had almost outlived its usefulness. Poor workmanship initially rendered the Crinal Canal ineffectual and the steamship latterly denied it the importance at first envisaged.[256]

At the end of the eighteenth century, the churches were the most substantial and best constructed of the Campbeltown buildings. Both the Relief kirk on Longrow, 1767, and the Castlehill kirk, 1781, were slated buildings. The Highland church, the largest of the three, was completed early in the next century, 1806. The tolbooth, 1757, was also a slated construction incorporating a tower with a clock specially made by Townsend of Greenock.[257] There were even elaborate plans for an inn or a coffee house of three floors with double partitions, plastering, and flooring to be built in the latter half of the century at the cost of £381-3s-11d, but there is no evidence of its eventual construction.[258] Domestic architecture was of little note in the town until early in the nineteenth century when the tenements of three storeys were slated.

Society

A common complaint in the council records and in the surveys of the eighteenth century was the prevalence of drunkenness in the town. The act of the town council of 1701 against "vice, immoralities, swearing and excessive drinking" apparently had little effect for the rest of the century, and it was an oft-repeated complaint.[259] Drinking was prohibited after ten p.m. except for seamen and since the town was populated by sailors, the act was easy to avoid. The inhabitants formed

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[256] H. Hamilton, Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (1963), 242-4.

[257] 4 August 1779, TCM, III.

[258] Plan of a Coffee House, 1751, S.C. Box 409, f. 1.

[259] 24 November 1701, TCM, I.

a rota of voluntary guards to protect the town from "daily brawlings and breaches of the peace."[260] The brawlings extended frequently to thefts. Juvenile delinquency appeared to be a major problem in the town as well and acts were passed forbidding youth from drinking and "playing at cards, dice, and oyr unlawful games and pasttimes."[261] The Presbytery records contain occasional complaints about the "meaner sort in Campbeltown" who "haunt the ale houses too late at night" and do not send their children to school.[262]

At the end of the eighteenth century, the laws regarding the manufacture and export of whisky were blamed for these immoralities. Although to some extent, the problems appeared to have pre-dated the laws. John Smith complained on more than one occasion about:

> The intolerable number of dramhouses which destroy the time, the morals, the means and the health of the inhabitants, is also adverse in the extreme to industry and improvements.[263]

Even in the inflationary final years of the century, spirits were still a comparatively inexpensive commodity in the town:

> When a man may get half an English pint of potent spirits, or, in other words, get completely drunk for two pence or three pence many will not be sober.[264]

Dram-drinking was much more common by the end of the eighteenth century than it had been at the beginning.

The health of the inhabitants of Kintyre did not appear to suffer to the extent that the ministers predicted as a result of the consumption of large quantities of strong spirits. The testaments

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[260] 6 May 1708, TCM, I.

[261] 6 March 1722, TCM, I.

[262] 30 January 1706, Records of the Presbytery of Kintyre, CH 2/1153.

[263] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 298.

[264] O.S.A., X, 557.

of many of the merchants of the town showed that they lived to an old age: Edward Orr was seventy-three at his death; Archibald Fleming, Duncan and Daniel Ballantine and Nathaniel Harvie were among the merchants active in the first customs records of the 1740's and they all lived until the last decade of the century.[265] The longevity of service of the town councillors and magistrates further substantiated this. Provost McColme must have been over ninety at the time of his death. The Rev. James Boes died at eighty-two.[266] The Rev. George Robertson, controversial schoolmaster and minister, held his office in the Lowland kirk for fifty-eight years and he, too, was over ninety when he died.[267] There were only occasional mentions of epidemic diseases in the eighteenth century town council minutes. One, in 1720, was apparently cholera.[268] The year of bad harvests, 1757, was also the occasion of epidemics:

> We have the bloody flux which is very epidemical amongst us, and few families escaped it.[269]

Selling drugs in the town was prohibited on one occasion except by the town's surgeon, Robert McColme, baillie of the town at that time. Any drugs sold were to be confiscated for his own use "to furnish himself from time to time with good and fresh drugs at reasonable rates for the town's use."[270]

Similarly, the population in the neighbouring parishes boasted of good health, at least by the end of the eighteenth century. The

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[265] See appendix 10.

[266] C. Mactaggart, "Life in Campbeltown in the Eighteenth Century," reprinted from the "Campbeltown Courier," 1923.

[267] Ibid.

[268] 25 November 1720, TCM, I.

[269] Archibald Campbell to Lord Milton, 1757, S.C. 16703, ff. 150-1.

[270] 27 March 1712, TCM, I.

people of Kilchenzie were thought to be "generally healthy and subject to few diseases."[271] A hundred children were inoculated against smallpox in 1791, none of whomdied, thus helping to eradicate the "prejudice against inoculation for the smallpox."[272] Saddell parish similarly was enjoying remarkable healthfulness and longevity by 1792 according to the parish minister. A fifth of the population was calculated to be over forty. The minister broke the population into age groups:[273]

Under 10 years of age	389
10 to 20	305
20 to 30	203
30 to 40	181
40 to 50	98
50 to 60	86
60 to 70	51
70 to 80	22
80 to 90	5
Above 100	1
Total	1341

Surgeons or apothecaries were mentioned on occasion in the town council minutes. As well as Robert McColme, long-serving provost of the town, Lachlan McNeill, surgeon, practised in the town for many years. Also Lachlan Campbell was a Campbeltown doctor.

Standard of Living

The standard of living was rising throughout Kintyre in the latter half of the eighteenth century, particularly in the neighbourhood of the town. After the dissolution of guilds and incorporations in 1759,

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[271] O.S.A., XIX, 628.

[272] Ibid.

[273] O.S.A., XII, 478.

the town council regulated both prices and wages.[274] They also raised the entrance money to the burgh at that time.[275] Although technically the town council regulated the prices, in effect by the latter half of the century, prices were determined by the cost of items in ports on the Clyde. Weights and measures were beginning to be regulated after the middle of the century, another sign that Kintyre was being drawn into the influence of markets further afield.[276] A common complaint at the end of the century was the rapid rise in the cost of living. By that time a boll of meal was selling for 22s. and a boll of potatoes for 12s.[277] The cost of wages for labourers was another frequent complaint. The wages of men servants, "constantly advancing," varied from £7 yearly "maintained in the house" in Southend[278] to £8-10s. a year in Kilchenzie.[279] Women servants got "nearly half as much, about £3 yearly."[280] A day labourer was paid 1s. a day plus victuals; a tailor, 10d. a day; a shoemaker, 8d. per pair of shoes; and a carpenter about 1s.-6d.[281]

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[274] 17 April 1759, TCM, II.

[275] 3 July 1761, TCM, II.

[276] 23 July 1753, TCM, II. "List of Weights and Measures," 1754, S.C. Box 412, f.3.

[277] 3 December 1799, TCM, IV.

[278] O.S.A., III, 368.

[279] O.S.A., XIX, 631.

[280] Ibid.

[281] Ibid.

The usual diet of the people in Kintyre was oatmeal, potatoes, and herring. This diet was unusually substantial for Argyllshire:

> In Kintyre it is customary to take some thin pottage, or a little bread and milk, before they begin work in the morning and after dinner, should it even be potatoes and herring, or flesh and broth, they have commonly a little bread and milk, by way of desert or supplement.[282]

The housing in Kintyre was also above average for Argyllshire. In Campbeltown, particularly, many of the more substantial tenants and storemasters lived in "very comfortable houses," a few of them slated.[283] Visitors to the town commented upon its pleasing aspect and the superiority of the housing.[284]

The ministers in the area frequently complained of the growing worldliness of the people in the parish, a sure sign of rising standards of living:

> One circumstance in the general character of the lower class of people, both in town and country, according to the complaint and experience of their clergy, consists in the little attention paid to everything beyond their worldly interests and a woeful ignorance in matters of religion.[285]

The men of the parish were said to dress in the manufacture of their wives, but most of the women relied upon the importations of merchants.[286] The kirk session appeared to be increasingly concerned with sabbath-breaking at the end of the century, from picking nuts and berries to blooding horses "in danger of loosing their

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[282] J. Smith, View of the Agriculture of Argyll (1798), 57.

[283] Ibid., 15.

[284] D. Loch, Trade, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries (1778), II, 156-161. T. Pennant, Tour of Scotland (1772), I, 219-24.

[285] O.S.A., X, 560.

[286] Ibid.

lives by distemper."[287] The case of the miliner's wife who reported the shoemaker for sabbath-breaking was understandable given the commercial spirit of the time. The shoemaker had gone on board an English ship in the harbour on Sunday "making sale of commodities."[288] The reports of public censure in the kirk were frequent in the kirk session records of the first half of the century, with fornication and profligacy the prevailing vices. By the end of the entury, such censures were less common, one of the last ones recorded in 1775 when a woman with child was called before the kirk session to justify her behaviour.[289] The Rev. John Smith blamed the worldliness of the populace on the neglect of religious education and public worship in general and "the want of schools in the country."[290] Many of the social vices he claimed were caused by "the poverty and mode of living of the generality of the inhabitants in the town."[291] The cheapness of spirits, the want of employment and, surprisingly, the amount of business given to attorneys and writers, with half a dozen practising in the town were other complaints of his.[292]

The leisure facilities of Campbeltown must have been at least improving at the end of the century for a public library was "set on

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[287] 28 April 1768, Minute Book of Kirk Session of the Longrow Church, Campbeltown, I.

[288] 12 June 1782, ibid.

[289] 4 June 1775, ibid.

[290] O.S.A., X, 561.

[291] Ibid.

[292] Ibid., 560.

on foot a few years ago," was written in 1792.[293] Membership cost six shillings a year. A library of "religious tracts and sacred writings" was established also by one clergyman with membership fees of one shilling a year.[294] These two libraries were well-controlled and their materials censured:

> Books of controversy, (which are read with such avidity by the common people in Scotland), are carefully excluded from this collection as the fruit which they produce is bitter.[295]

There was no evidence of any other organised leisure facility, but festivities of all sorts, penny weddings, "cumerings" or christenings, and wakes of the dead were popular activities. Music and dancing were followed with considerable interest judging from the number of pipers, fiddlers, and musicians who found employment in the vicinity.[296] Dram-drinking was occupying increasingly more of the time of the people of the town according to the ministers of the parish and judging from the number of inns and public houses within the bounds.

The Merchant Families

The names of a group of merchants occurred repeatedly in the records of Campbeltown in the last half of the eighteenth century. Provosts in the first part of the century had been, for the most part, chamberlains to the Duke of Argyll or landowners in Kintyre, a few with some mercantile interests such as Lachlan McNeill of Kilchrist, provost in 1743, and Neill McNeill of Ugadale, provost in

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[293] Ibid., 561.

[294] Ibid.

[295] Ibid.

[296] Return of the numbers of men in the parish of Kilkerran, February 1798, A.E.O.

1748. In the 1750's, two merchants held that office for most of the decade. William Buchanan was a son of John Buchanan, who came to Campbeltown as surveyor of customs.[297] William was five times provost of the town and during that time showed an interest in every economic venture proposed, particularly the manufacturing of linen. He had tacks to three farms, Crosshill, Dalrioch, and Khockrioch, presumably with the idea of raising flax.[298] He also had three properties in Campbeltown.[299] He traded actively to Ireland particularly in salt and herring, but also in flax upon occasion. In 1769, he was made collector of customs, a position he held for only a year before he was suspended for fraud.[300] One of his sons, Alexander who acquired a considerable estate in Glasgow and Greenock as well as in Campbeltown, carried on the mercantile interests of the family. His other son, Archibald, became comptroller of customs in the town and carried out these official duties with more success than his father had.[301]

The other merchant-provost of the 1750's, William Finlay, was descended from a family of maltmen. Finlay showed particular interest in the trade to Ireland and in the herring buss fishing. He was justiciary baillie for the western fisheries.[302] He also had a tack to Whitehill, a farm bordering the town's boundaries.[303]

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[297] 22 June 1750, Argyll Testaments, CC 2/3/11.

[298] Tacks to Kintyre lands, 1749, S.C. Box 407, f. 1.

[299] Observations on the Plan of Campbeltown, 1754, S.C. 17679, ff. 182-3.

[300] Collector to the Board, 22 May 1770, CE 82/1/2.

[301] 22 June 1750, Argyll Testaments, CC 2/3/11.

[302] D. Loch, Trade, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries (1778), II, 157.

[303] Tacks to Kintyre lands, 1749, S.C. Box 407, f. 1.

The provosts later in the century differed from the ones at mid-century, largely on account of the influence and involvement of John, 5th Duke of Argyll. The provosts after 1770 appeared to be figure-heads, hand-picked by the Duke of Argyll. In 1769, the 5th Duke held office himself as Marquis of Lorne and in 1773, as 5th Duke.[304] Although the title was an honorary one, it showed an interest in burgh affairs by the house of Argyll. A series of chamberlains held office thereafter. Dugald Campbell, Laird of Kintarbert, was chamberlain to the Duke in Kintyre when he was provost of the town in 1783. James Maxwell, sheriff substitute of Kintyre, was only twenty-seven years old when he first held the office of provost. He was later the chamberlain to the Duke's lands in Mull, Morvern, and Tiree. Humphrey Graham, an agricultural expert brought by the Duke of Argyll to help him manage his estate, was provost in 1789 and chamberlain at the same time. Captain Duncan Stewart, also chamberlain in Kintyre, was nine times a provost after 1792. Lt. Col. John Porter, who had a military career and acquired an estate in Argyll, was provost in 1795. Another Campbeltown provost, Duncan Campbell, was sheriff substitute from 1790 until his death in 1822. Although the chief office-holder during these years was most often a figure-head, the make-up of the council itself was unchanged and continued to show strong mercantile interests.

The councillors at mid-century were Neill McNeill of Ugadale, Lachlan McNeill of Kilchrist, James Robertson, Edward Orr, William McKinlay, James Miller, Nathaniel Harvey, William Campbell, David Watson, Daniel Fleming, Alexander

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[304] 30 September 1769; 30 September 1773, TCm, III.

Johnston, Francis Farquharson, and James Harvey.[305] These men, too, showed interest in the grain trade and the buss fishing. William McKinlay, who was town baillie, was perhaps one of the more ambitious merchants in trading to Norway and to the colonies. He was renowned for his experience in the buss fishing as another of the justiciary baillies for the western fisheries:

> From his great practice and experience in this matter, being otherwise a sensible intelligent man, he displayed a perfect knowledge in the trade of this part of the country; and his observations on the bounty were fraught with a great deal of good sense and sound reasoning.[306]

He favoured a moderate premium for the cod and ling fishing as well as for the herring.[307] Francis Farquharson was the son of the Farquharson who came from Aberdeenshire to Campbeltown as collector of customs at the beginning of the century.[308] He was laird of a small estate, Clachaig, in north Kintyre. He was another of the more ambitious merchants and the initiator of routes of trade, trading most frequently to the colonies in the 1750's and owning the first local buss. He became considerably involved in that business.[309] "A sensible, polite, well-bred man, who has the interest of his country at heart," Loch said of him.[310] He was a long-standing member of the town council and most likely provost at one time. He left a large estate to his son Archibald who continued the colonial

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[305] 30 September 1749, TQM, II. Also "List of the councillors of Campbeltown," 1749, S.C. 17679, f. 45.

[306] D. Loch, Trade, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries (1778), II, 157.

[307] Ibid.

[308] 14 April 1787, Argyll Testaments, CC 1/6/51.

[309] Quarterly Accounts, E 504/8/2.

[310] D. Loch, Trade, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries (1778), II, 158.

trade, particularly importing sugar in the last years before the American revolution.

These merchants, Buchanan, Finlay, McKinlay, and Farquharson, were perhaps in some ways exceptional among the town merchants. Other families whose names appeared often in the eighteenth century records of the town were characteristic in showing an interest and an investment in malting and in the grain trade in the early years of the century and later pursuing the herring buss fishing. The Orr family were maltmen who came to Kintyre during the plantations of the seventeenth century. Edward Orr Sr. paid £6 in 1701 for freedom of the burgh as a maltman.[311] His son Edward, born in 1700, was a maltman at mid-century and a baillie of the town. He was one of the merchant/maltmen who bought shares in busses.[312] His son, Robert, born in 1730, inherited his estate. Robert Orr traded with the West Indies at the end of the 1750's and this led to his involvement in the Irish-West Indian drawback trade fom 1766-1771. After that lucrative period of trading and buss fishing, he turned his interests to the grain trade and to establishing the Dalaruan brewery in the town in the 1770's. He loaned the town £100 in 1783.[313] These three generations showed the change of interest from Edward Orr Sr. who was a maltman in 1701 to Edward Orr Jr. who was known as a merchant/maltman and became involved in the buss fishing of the 1750's. Finally, Robert Orr initially showed involvement in the buss fishing of the 1750's, bfoadened his interests to include the

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[311] 14 April 1701, TCM, I.

[312] 1 July 1700, Lowland Baptismal Register, OPR 507/1. 8 June 1773, Argyll Testaments, CC 2/3/11.

[313] 6 July 1785, TCM, III. 21 November 1780, Argyll Testaments, CC 2/3/12, p. 112.

colonial drawback trade and then found a base in the grain business and distilling at the end of the century. His son John carried on the brewing and distilling company.[314]

Other families showed a similar transfer of interests and capital. The Ballantines were maltmen in the early royal burgh. In 1757, Duncan Ballantine was one of the first to become involved in the herring fishing with shares in several busses. His son, Daniel, turned again to the resource of grain and he was in partnership with Orr in the Dalaruan brewery.[315] They kept their shares in busses as well to the 1790's, Duncan with shares in three and Daniel with shares varying from a fifth to a twentieth in seven busses.[316] The Ryburns, Matthew and David, were maltmen and town councillors by 1743.[316] David turned to the buss fishing after 1757. At his death he had shares in four busses. He borrowed money from merchant/maltmen of the town, Duncan Ballantine, John Campbell, James Greenlees, James Reid, and Samuel Galbreath, and he was still in debt to them at the time of his death.[317] The Harvies were also maltmen in the early royal burgh. Nathaniel traded in grain in the 1750's. By 1757, he put his capital into busses.[318] Andrew was a maltman also with shares in busses by mid-century.[319] In 1783, he was still brewing and distilling in Campbeltown.[320] A descendant, Nathaniel, was one of the last legal distillers of the eighteenth-century town.[321]

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[314] Chartulary deeds to the Dalaruan Brewery in the papers of D. Colville.

[315] Ibid.

[316] 10 October 1743, TCM, II.

[317] 26 November 1771; 16 October 1772, Argyll Testaments, CC 2/3/11.

[318] Quarterly Accounts, E 504/8/2.

[319] 31 March 1791, Argyll Testaments, CC 2/3/12, p. 193.

[320] 6 March 1783, TCM, III.

[321] Memorial by the Distillers of Campbeltown, 25 August 1797.

These families, Orrs, Ballantines, Ryburns, and Harvies, were characteristic of a class of merchant in Campbeltown whose names appeared with regularity in the minutes of the town council, in the quarterly customs accounts, and in the papers of ownership for the herring busses. Flemings, Galbreaths, Watsons, Colvilles, and Fergusons were others who showed the same involvement in malting initially, then buss fishing, and finally a return to brewing and distilling through the course of the century. The prosperity of the town lay in the hands of these families who were, almost without exception, Lowlanders and members of the Relief kirk after 1767.

A tendency for some of these merchants to take leases to farms became evident towards the end of the century as grain was becoming an increasingly important commodity. Edward Orr had tacks to several farms.[322] Flemings had leases to lands at Glenrea and Glecknahavill in co-tenancy with Archibald Campbell, another Campbeltown merchant.[323] Andrew Harvie had a tack to Skeroblingarry in 1775.[324] David Campbell, merchant had plans to build a barley mill at Knockstapple after 1777.[325] Knocknagrein in Kilblaan parish was in the hands of merchants after 1761.[326] A baillie of the town, Colin Campbell, had a tack to Smerby acres and mill in 1770.[327]

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[322] Tacks to Kintyre lands, 1749, S.C. Box 407, f. 1.

[323] Tacks to Glenrea in Kilmalcolm and Glecknahavill in Kilkivan, 1772, A.E.O.

[324] Skeroblingarry in Kilchousland, 1775, A.E.O.

[325] Knockstapple in Kilblaan, 1777, A.E.O.

[326] Knocknagrein in Kilblaan, 1761, 1819, 1838, A.E.O.

[327] Smerby in Kilchousland, 1770, A.E.O.

The tack for Putichantuy was taken along with Bellochantuy in 1774. It included a change house and a malt kiln. In 1814, a town maltman had the lease.[328] In 1797, two Campbeltown maltmen, Archibald Colville and Archibald Templeton, took a lease to the fertile three merklands of Kilkeddan.[329] After improvements made on the two merklands of Kilmichael in 1787, two Campbeltown maltmen, Alexander Dunlop and Alexander Colville, took the tack in 1806.[330] Leases for farms in the early nineteenth century were sometimes taken with distillers as "cautioners."[331] These leases were an indication that at the end of the eighteenth century merchant/maltmen were making investments in farming either directly as lease holders themselves or indirectly as creditors. Farming was becoming increasingly profitable in the vicinity of the burgh because the commerce of the town had stimulated markets for grain. Consequently, a large class of tenant farmers achieved a standard of living enviable by farming tenants in other areas of Argyll and many merchants of the town profitted by way of this resource of the land. The economy of town and country was inseparable by the early years of the nineteenth century.

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[328] Putichantuy and Bellochantuy in Killean, 1754, 1774, 1814, A.E.O.

[329] Kilkeddan in Kilchousland, 1797, A.E.O.

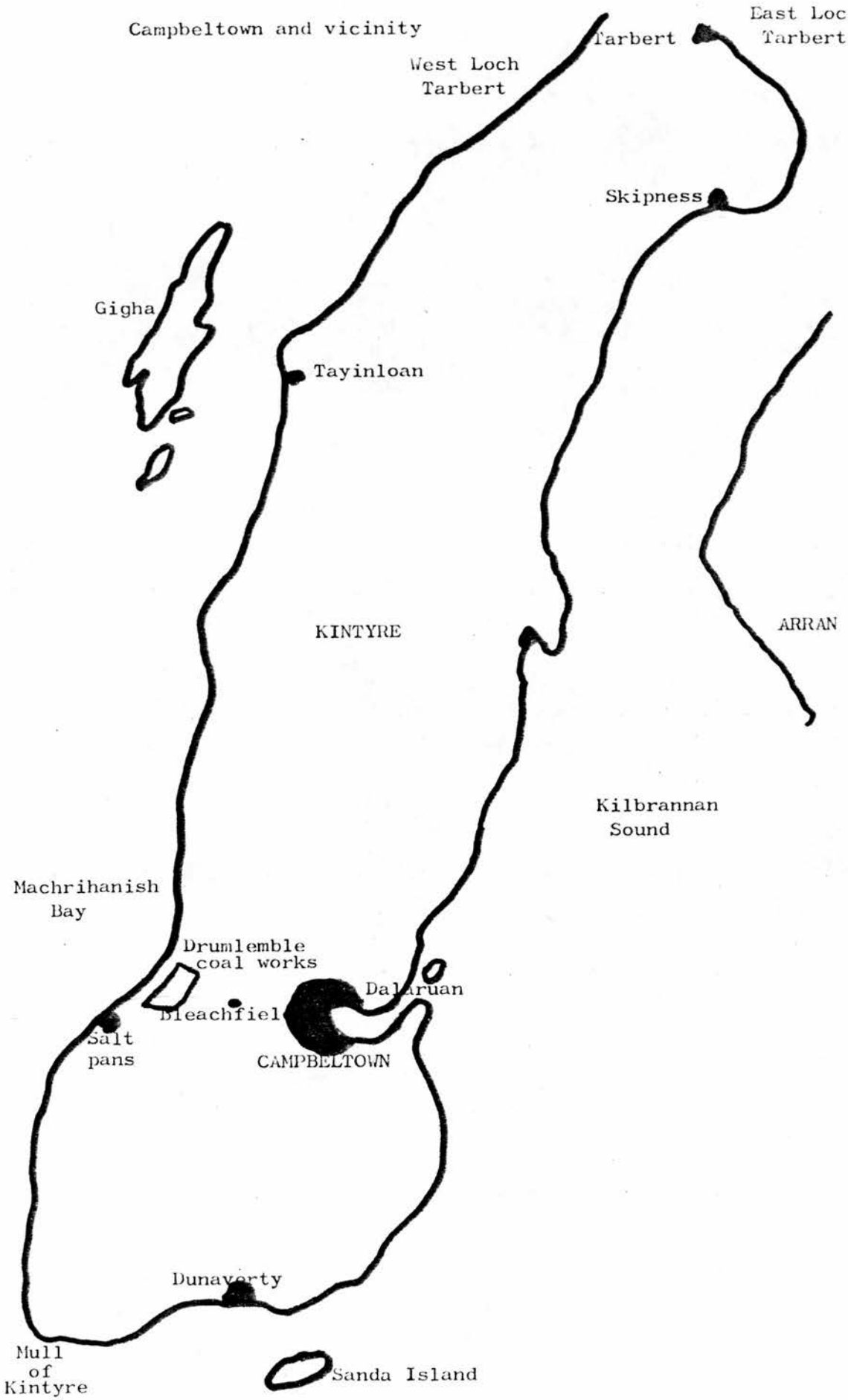
[330] Kilmichael in Kilmichael, 1787, 1806, A.E.O.

[331] See for example, Ranachan in Kilmichael, 1836; Drumkildavie in Kilcolmkill, 1842, A.E.O.

For numerous reasons, the end of the eighteenth century is a natural division in a study of an economic development of Campbeltown. After the 1790's, it becomes increasingly difficult to speak of the town without making reference to the improvements taking place in the lands of Kintyre, another subject which belongs primarily to the nineteenth century. By the last decade of the century, the town had assumed such importance in the area that the prosperity of the tenant farmers was related completely to the commerce of the town. The relationship of the distillers and the tenants in the next period of the town's history was a close one.

The nineteenth-century town, although enjoying an unusual prosperity in the Highlands, did not entertain the multitude of economic endeavours characteristic of the eighteenth-century burgh. However short the duration of any one of the ventures, each contributed to the overall picture of a search for economic outlets and schemes for investment. The merchants of the town, naive though they often appeared in their endorsements of diverse plans, displayed a spirit of enterprise which probably has not been equalled in the town since. The message of the eighteenth century, from the town council minutes particularly, was that Campbeltown's merchants thought they were at the very centre of Scotland's economic development, which in many ways they were in this hundred-year period, rather than on the perimeter as change has rendered their twentieth-century counterparts.

APPENDIX 1


Campbeltown and vicinity
Tarbert
East Loch Tarbert
West Loch Tarbert
Skipness
Gigha
Tayinloan
KINTYRE
ARRAN
Kilbrannan Sound
Machrihanish Bay
Drumlemble coal works
Dalaruan
Bleachfield
Salt pans
CAMPBELTOWN
Dunaverty
Mull of Kintyre
Sanda Island

APPENDIX 2

Anchorage Table of 1701

Customes of the Trone and other petty customes of this burgh

	lb.	s.	d.
Each stone of butter, cheese, tallow, and other tronable goods for each stone	00	00	04
And under a stone	00	00	02
Each cut linnen cloath of ten elnes	00	01	00
Each pair highland plaides coming to be sold	00	01	00
Each ten eln woollen cloath and under and above proportionallie paying all wayes twelve pennies Scots for the ten elne and so proportionallie if the web be longer or shorter	00	01	00
Each shopman stand on the weiklie mercat day	00	01	00
Each shopman stand for the tyme of faires	00	06	00
Each horse coming to mercat one shilling Scots and if be sold two shillings			
Each mare with her follower coming to mercat one shilling four pennies and if sold two shillings eight pennies			
Each cow coming to mercat	00	01	00
And if bought be ane unfrieman	00	01	06
Loades or burdings going out of toun	00	01	00
And in tyme of fair	00	02	00
Each roll of tobacco	00	00	04
And in tyme of fair each roll	00	00	08
Each gallon aquavitae going out of toun for retailing	00	01	00
And each gallon in tyme of fair	00	02	00
Each sheep and goat coming to mercat	00	00	04
And in tyme of fairs each of them	00	00	08
Each load of timber four pennies	00	00	04
Each stone of wool twelv pennies by Strangers	00	01	00

Ladles out of victuall coming to mercat and oyrs

Thair is a ladles to be payed out of each boll bear Kintyre measure and the ladle to be a fourth pairt of a peck

Item a ladle out of each load meall consisting of two bolls and proportionallie the ladle being as above

Item a ladle out of each boll malt Lorne and the lyke and proportionallie

A ladle being a fourth pairt out of each hogseit of Lintseid brought in by unfreemen to be payed to the dean of gild.

A ladle being a fourth pairt out of each boll of fruit

Each peck of potatoes to pay two pennies Scots

Shoar dews

	lb.	s.	d.
Each horse shipped by strangers	00	03	00
Each cow by strangers shipped	00	01	06
Each sheep	00	00	04
Each barrell beef, herring or oyr goods shipped by unfreemen	00	01	00
Each barrel coalles imported	00	00	04
Each boll corn, bear, malt, and sack of meal at export and import	00	01	00
Herrings imported by strangers in bulk two herring out of each hundreth where ever the fishing be			
Each herring boat of anchorage belonging to unfreemen and it is declared if it be tyme of fishing if the herring be taken betwixt poynt of Caradell and Southwards then to pay six shillings Scots for the whole herring fishing season thair in that bounds and if they pay not that peacablie then to pay the three shillings the voyage	00	03	00
All deals imported by unfreemen two out of each hundred			
Each boll barks brought in by strangers	00	01	00
Each ship riding with McNinians poynt	00	18	00
Each barque with two top masts	00	12	00

	lb.	s.	d.
Each barge with two masts and decks	00	09	00
Each straiked boat	00	06	00
Each birling six shillings and each barrell one shilling Scots			
Each pack of wool at import and export by unfreemen . . .			

Source: Minute of 30 April 1701 of the Minutes of the Town Council of Campbeltown, volume I.

Anchorage Table of 1757

The Magistrates and Council mentioned on the preceding pages convened in councill, considering that the carrying on of the keys and publick works of this harbour are attended with a very great charge and expence, to our neighbouring burrows who have not so good a harbour, nor such conveniency for shipping or landing of goods as we have, therefore, and in pursuance of the powers vested in them by the charter of erection of this burgh, the Magistrates and Councill do hereby statute, enact and ordain, that the sums following be paid for anchorage, shoar-dues and keyage, of all strangers' ships or vessels anchoring in the harbour, or loading or unloading at the keys of the burgh, viz:

Anchorage of every yoall anchoring in the harbour belonging to strangers or unfreemen, three pence sterling

Each fishing boat having no straiks, six pence

Each straiked boat or vessel under ten tons burden, nine pence

Each vessel from 10 to 15 tons burden, one shilling

Each vessel from 15 to 20 tons, one shilling and six pence

Each vessel from 20 to 30 tons, two shillings

Each vessel from 30 to 40 tons, two shillings six pence

Each vessel from 40 to 60 tons, three shillings six pence

Each ship or vessel from 60 to 100 tons, four shillings

Each ship or vessel of 100 tons and upwards, five shillings

Each fishing boat to pay for anchorage during the fishing season one shilling, or, in the option of the skipper, to pay six pence for each time the boat comes into the loch, as mentioned above.

Each boat, ship or vessel belonging to a freeman, but freighted by an unfreeman, anchoring in the harbour during the continuance of such freight to pay two-thirds of the above anchorage; and every boat, ship or vessel belonging to an unfreeman, and freighted by a freeman, to pay one-third of the anchorage such vessel is liable for by the above table.

Keyage

Every boat, ship or vessel belonging to unfreeman, that shall load or unload goods at the keys of the burgh, to pay, over and above, the said anchorage, another sum equal to the anchorage, for and in name of keyage; and in case such boat, ship or other vessel, shall be freighted by a freeman, to pay only one-third of the said keyage. But in case the vessel loading or unloading shall belong to a freeman, and be freighted by an unfreeman, then two thirds of the said keyage to be paid.

Shore Dues

For every horse, mare, or gelding, of three years old and upwards, at export or import, to be paid three pence

For every colt or foal, one panny

For every cow, bull or bullock, of three years old and above, one penny

For every cow under three years old, two thirds of a penny

For every sheep or goat, one-third of a penny

For every lamb or kid, one-sixth of a penny

For every barrel of beef, pork, one penny half penny

For every hogshead of wine, one shilling

For every last of empty barrels, three pence

For every barrel of coals (at import or export), one-third penny

For every throch-stone for a grave, four pence

For every headstone, two pence

For every grinding stone, one penny

For every hundred rebated for building, six pence, and so on in proportion for any greater or less number

For every boll Kintyre measure, of barley, oats, wheat, rye, malt, peas, beans, or oyr grain, grinded or ungrinded, one penny

For every pack of wool, six pence

For every stone weight wool, a half penny

For every copper chaldron of sixteen gallons content one shilling

For every brass pan or pot, under five shillings value, one half penny

For every hundred of deals, staves, rungs, or other of that kind, two deals, staves, rungs to be paid out of each hundred

Source: Minute of 4 November 1757 of the Minutes of the Town Council of Campbeltown, volume II.

APPENDIX 3

Amounts of bonds for anchorage and shore dues, tronage and petty customs, and ladles for the years 1701 to 1788

Bonds:

	Anchorage and Shore Dues	Tronage and Petty Customs	Ladles	Total
1701	109 merks Scots	88 Scots	106 Scots	266-13-4 Scots
1702	204	116	222	542
1703	132	118	212	462
1704				
1705				
1706				
1707	78	70	140	288
1708	102	80	160	342
1709	106	94	164	364
1710	102	72	184	358
1711				347
1712	86	78	195	359
1713	not bid (Town's)	60	not bid (Town's)	60
1714	51	60	120	231
1715	52	75	141	268
1716	46	56	152	254
1717	41	46	145	232
1718	44	43	146	233
1719	49	43	151	243
1720	32	56	142	230
1721	34	54		
1722	43	50	132	225
1723	53	80	153	291
1724	51	77	152	280
1725	51		152	
1726	46	81	151	278
1727	54	77	163	294
1728	73	50	173	296
1729	64	65	177	306
1730	73	63	182	318
1731	79	65	176	320
1732	74	60	182	316
1733		61-16	180	
1734	81	59	174	314
1735	£ 6-12 Sterling	£ 5-St.	£ 12-14 St.	£ 24-6 Sterling
1736	6-13	4-4	13-11	24-8
1737	4-15	4-12	14-8	23-15
1738	5-4	5-6	15-16	26-6
1739	6-1	4-12	12-15	23-8
1740				

Bonds:

	Anchorage and Shore Dues	Tronage and Petty Customs	Ladles
1741	£ 5-10 Sterling	£ 3-9 Sterling	£ 19 Sterling
1742	7-5	5-1	30
1743	6	6	26
1744	6-16-6	6-3	27
1745	7-13	23 (Town)	
1746	6-8	3-10	20-15
1747	7	5-6	22-1
1748	7-4	5-10	21-7
1749	8-12	4-11	29-5
1750	7-15	4	29-15
1751	9-15	5-11	29-10
1752	9	5-19	25-10
1753	10	6-6	30-1
1754	9-5	5-16	31
1755	8-11	5-12	25-5
1756	10-7	5	25-1
1757	8-11	4	28-10
1758	14-10	5	30-10
1759	16-10	6-7	28-15
1760	14-10	7	--
1761	14-10	6-1	--
1762	15	--	24-2
1763	21-5	5-17	28-8
1764	21	6	--
1765	26-5	7-6	26-5
1766	32-4	7-15	28-5
1767			27
1768			
1769	33	2-5	27
1770	40	5-6	30-15
1771	36	5-2	26-5
1772	30	5-2	23
1773	23-5	5-5	20
1774	27-10	12-5	22-15
1775	27-10	10-10	27-5
1776	--	9-15	32-15
1777	32-10	10-11	28-15
1778	25-10	11-8	28
1779	24-5	9	20-10
1780	16-5	9-15	19-4
1781		7-11	19
1782		10-15	29
1783	16-10	11-5	30-15
1784	16	10-10	29-5
1785	--	9-9	26-5
1786	12-6		34-10
1787	--		32-5
1788	12-1	6-10	20-10

Source: Minutes of the Town Council of Campbeltown, I - III.

These bonds, recorded at the end of each volume of the town council minutes name the principal, his occupation and his cautioner. The anchorage and shore dues and the tronage and petty customs ran from 15 May with equal proportions of the sums to be paid at Martinmas and Candlemas. The Ladles ran from 1 August with the terms for payment being Candlemas and Lammas. When there was no offer for the duties, the branch concerned was held by the Treasurer of the town for the use of the common good and the town councillor paid a person for collecting the duties.

APPENDIX 4

Customs Collections at the Port of Campbeltown

E 504/8/1

1744	£154- 01-11	1770	£7,008-02-02½
1745	140-11-08	1771	8,738-07-02
1746	78-19-02½	1772	877-17-00½
1747	167-14-04½	1773	12,240-06-05¼
1748	24-18-06	1774	6,766-16-01½
1749	428-08-05¼	1775	13,635-11-03½
1750	162-08-03¼	1776	7,294-06-06
1751	278-01-06½	1777	1,231-00-04½
1752	654-03-02	1778	391-12-10½
1753	260-16-08¼	1780	182-06-04½
1754	656-19-02¼	1781	116-01-03½
1755	474-03-06½	1782	131-12-10¾
1756	352-18-05	1783	132-01-01½
1757	147-07-05¾	1784	160-16-10
1758	165-10-00½	1785	195-04-04¾
1759	158-03-09	1786	258-06-07¾
1760	161-12-11¾	1787	177-01-09
1761	76-13-03¾	1788	259-10-10¼
1762	359-06-05¼	1789	178-19-06¼
1763	232-07-05¼	1790	98-05-00½
1764	254-10-09½	1791	148-18-02
1765	787-15-09½	1792	507-07-04½
1766	3,310-12-11¾	1793	78-08-07¼
1767	4,310-13-01¾	1794	40-14-10¼
1768	4,389-06-01½	1795	2-03-00
1769	7,592-00-05¾	1796	60-02-04½

Source: Quarterly Customs Accounts of Campbeltown, 1744-1796, E 504/8/1-7.

APPENDIX 5a

An Account of the Quantity of British Herring exported from Scotland, from Christmas 1750, to Christmas 1782, distinguishing each year, and the ports from whence exported.

Ports from whence export	White herrings per barrel:						
	1751	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757
Air	6624	3558	1067	686	3830	2730	1239
Anstruther	31	340	603	288		286	743
Campbeltown	6084	2773	6244	6933	24436	13528	3271
Fort William	217	259	-	412	1315	1444	1592
Inverness		12	238		779	291	
Irvine	337	367	107	280	3754	2930	863
Montrose	88	184	90	32		67	33
Orkney	692	196			1737	2003	
Port Glasgow	2404	2214	3270	3117	4054	4519	2924
Port Greenock	7395	6927	10261	7574	4675	9072	6257
Stranraer		156	1029	1690	1935	951	5924
Shetland	1672	810	3482	5286	2399	3476	1133

	1758	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764
Air	1237	1513	1789	4288	598	1997	333
Anstruther	177		14				
Campbeltown	5083	2846	1712	6026	4895	10775	2641
Fort William	799	501	111	201	283	985	11
Inverness						500	
Irvine	695	290	365	1495	809	1636	
Montrose							
Orkney							
Port Glasgow	4326	1293	4329	4692	752	2574	1894
Port Greenock	11878	5422	5512	7514	4438	5700	1692
Stranraer	13121	9025	432	747	460	141	
Shetland	4173	1166	460	950	1250	941	952

	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771
Air	74	717	57	235	35	964	228
Anstruther							56
Campbeltown	12300	10675	6390	8474	6476	16175	4313
Fort William	297	461	172			65	194
Inverness			3				145
Irvine	2183	889	591	1018	954	1569	1212
Montrose							
Orkney							
Port Glasgow	1636	2532	2509	4687	1802	3239	1289
Port Greenock	9628	5270	6095	7334	5811	12574	14176
Stranraer	73	371	522	929	1429	1934	912
Shetland	1438	3119	2565	2539	2600	2039	1915

Ports from whence export	White herrings per barrel						
	1772	1773	1774	1775	1776	1777	1778
Air		150	291	151	1326	301	
Campbeltown	3619	14638	12173	8122	14186	9709	8004
Fort William	59		144				
Irvine	424	1312	1312	1312	1173	1414	856
Oban	275	1656	546	1159	797		52
Port Glasgow	497	619	2608	1319	3721	3800	5619
Port Greenock	8711	14575	18535	13702	22897	21714	19393
Rothesay		206	570	495	536		
Stornoway	1433	2198	2968	3178	3435	2197	546
Stranraer		866	670	977	1534	1383	953
Shetland	14	325	530	43			

	1779	1780	1781	1782
Air				
Campbeltown	10673	5075	1768	396
Fort William				
Irvine	691	23		
Oban				
Port Glasgow	5448	4071	2264	1269
Port Greenock	14096	14518	9150	8819
Rothesay				
Stornoway	988	1230	900	914
Stranraer		106		
Shetland				

Source: J. Knox, Observations on the Northern Fisheries (1785), II.

APPENDIX 5b

Analysis of barrels of herring exported from Campbeltown in local and non-local vessels

Year	Campbeltown vessels (barrels)	W. Highland vessels (barrels)	Other vessels (barrels)	Total export (barrels)
1750	1,454	1,108	724	3,286
1751	3,357	2,322	470	6,149
1752	1,552	1,458	-	3,010
1753	4,203	2,173	296	6,672
1754	3,085	2,965	695	6,745
1755	9,887	9,139	7,614	26,640
1756	7,257	3,443	3,580	14,280
1757	4,003	470	292	4,765
1758	3,623	1,121	-	4,744
1759	1,566	1,386	-	2,952
1760	1,799	50	-	1,849

Source: This table is taken from A.R. Bigwood, "Campbeltown Buss Fishery 1750-1800," (M.L. thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1970), Table 3.

APPENDIX 6

Provosts of Campbeltown in the Eighteenth Century

1700 John Campbell, Laird of Glensaddell. He became laird in 1707, the second largest landowner after the Duke of Argyll of the lands in the vicinity of Campbeltown. He owned Ballygreggan and Dalihtober, exporting and importing from the area known as Dalintober pier and causing considerable controversy in the town council as to the shipping rights of the town. He died in 1732.

1709 Robert McColme, apothecary.
A surgeon in Campbeltown from the beginning of the century until his death. He became a councillor first in 1709 and he was a member of the council until 1754. He was five times elected provost after 1709. His brother, Andrew, was Dean of Guild for many years.

1725 Hugh Montgomery.
His family came from Ayrshire. He was collector of customs until 20 October 1737. He married Mary Boes, daughter of the Rev. James Boes of the Lowland congregation. Their daughter, Elizabeth, married the Rev. David Campbell, who was minister of Southend from 1742-92.

1743 Lachlan McNeill of Kilchrist.
His father was Laird of Kilchrist and he inherited this estate. He was provost at the time of the 1745 rebellion and commanded a company of militia. He had a quarrel with Robert McColme over the appointment of a schoolmaster. In 1757, he gained tacks to Knocknaha and Strathbeg along with Col. Charles Campbell, another merchant in the town. He appeared to have property also in partnership with William Finlay.

1748 Neill McNeill of Ugadale.
He was a son of Torquill McNeill, also an early provost of the town. He was a merchant. His son emigrated to North Carolina.

1751 William Buchanan, merchant.
He was the son of John Buchanan of Galston who came to Campbeltown as collector of customs in the early eighteenth century. William participated in most trades - West Indian, North American, Baltic, Portuguese, and Irish. He had shares in the busses. He was much involved in a scheme to set up a linen manufactory in Campbeltown and he gained a tack to the farm of Strathbeg, later known as the Bleach-field. He also had a tack to Tonrioch for the purpose of experimenting in raising his own flax. His partnership with Henry Hook to further the linen business in the 1750's was a dismal failure. The honesty of both men was questioned. He held tacks at various times to other farms:

Crosshill, Dalrioch, and Knockrioch. He was five times elected provost. He was comptroller of customs in 1768 in Campbeltown, but was dismissed a year later for his fraudulent dealings. Two sons followed his mercantile interests. Alexander became wealthy in the trade with the West Indies and Archibald became a collector of customs in Campbeltown. Another son, John, followed a military career.

1753 William Finlay, merchant.
He was a comparatively active merchant in the town, involved in the transatlantic trade and the buss fishing. He was Justiciary Baillie for the herring fishing in the Western Isles. He played an important part in the controversy between the Lowland congregation and the Duke of Argyll over the appointment of a minister. He was the congregation's delegate sent to the Duke in London to present their petition. He was later the first elder of the Longrow Relief congregation, 1767. He also had three properties in the town held jointly with McNeill of Kilchrist. He and Lachlan Campbell, surgeon, had a tack to Whitehill farm.

1757 Peter Stewart, lawyer.
He was the son of the Rev. Charles Stewart, minister of the Highland Church at the time of controversy in the united kirk session over the issue of patronage. Peter Stewart strongly opposed the Lowlanders in their efforts to choose their own minister. He was depute sheriff clerk of Kintyre in 1750. He was clerk of the guild council in 1764. He married Annabella, the daughter of John Campbell of Kildalloig, chamberlain of Kintyre. They had three sons, Peter, Robert, and Dugald, and three daughters. One son emigrated to America.

1769 John Campbell, Marquis of Lorne.
He succeeded his father as the 5th Duke in 1770. He was awarded the honorary title of provost again in 1773. He married Elizabeth Gunning of Castle Coote, Roscommon. He was the father of the next two Dukes of Argyll. He died in 1793.

1771 Col. Charles Campbell of Barbreck.
He inherited a large estate and he also had a considerable mercantile interest in Campbeltown. He loaned money to the town council on two occasions. His son married the daughter of Lord Frederick Campbell, brother of the Duke of Argyll.

1774 James Farquharson of Clachaig.
He inherited this north Kintyre estate from his father, Francis, who had considerable mercantile interests in the town in the 1750's and the 1760's. James was therefore a grandson of the Francis Farquharson who came from Finzean,

Aberdeenshire, to be collector of customs in the early eighteenth century. James' elder brother, Archibald, appeared to inherit the mercantile share of his father's large estate.

1783 Dugald Campbell of Kintarbert.
He inherited this mid-Argyll estate and was chamberlain of Kintyre. The title of provost appeared to have been an honorary one.

1785 James Maxwell.
After the Battle of Bothwell Brig, Robert Maxwell, son of Maxwell of Newark, a covenanter, sought refuge in Kintyre. A descendant of that Maxwell, James was educated at Inverary. He was later appointed Sheriff Substitute of Kintyre. At the time he was provost, he was only twenty-seven years old. He was also chamberlain to the Duke for Mull, Morvern, and Tiree. He died in 1829.

1787 Lachlan McTavish of Dunardry.
He was Laird of this Knapdale estate. In this instance the title of provost was again an honorary one.

1789 Humphry Graham, chamberlain of Kintyre.
He was an agricultural expert brought by the Duke to improve the lands on the Argyll estate.

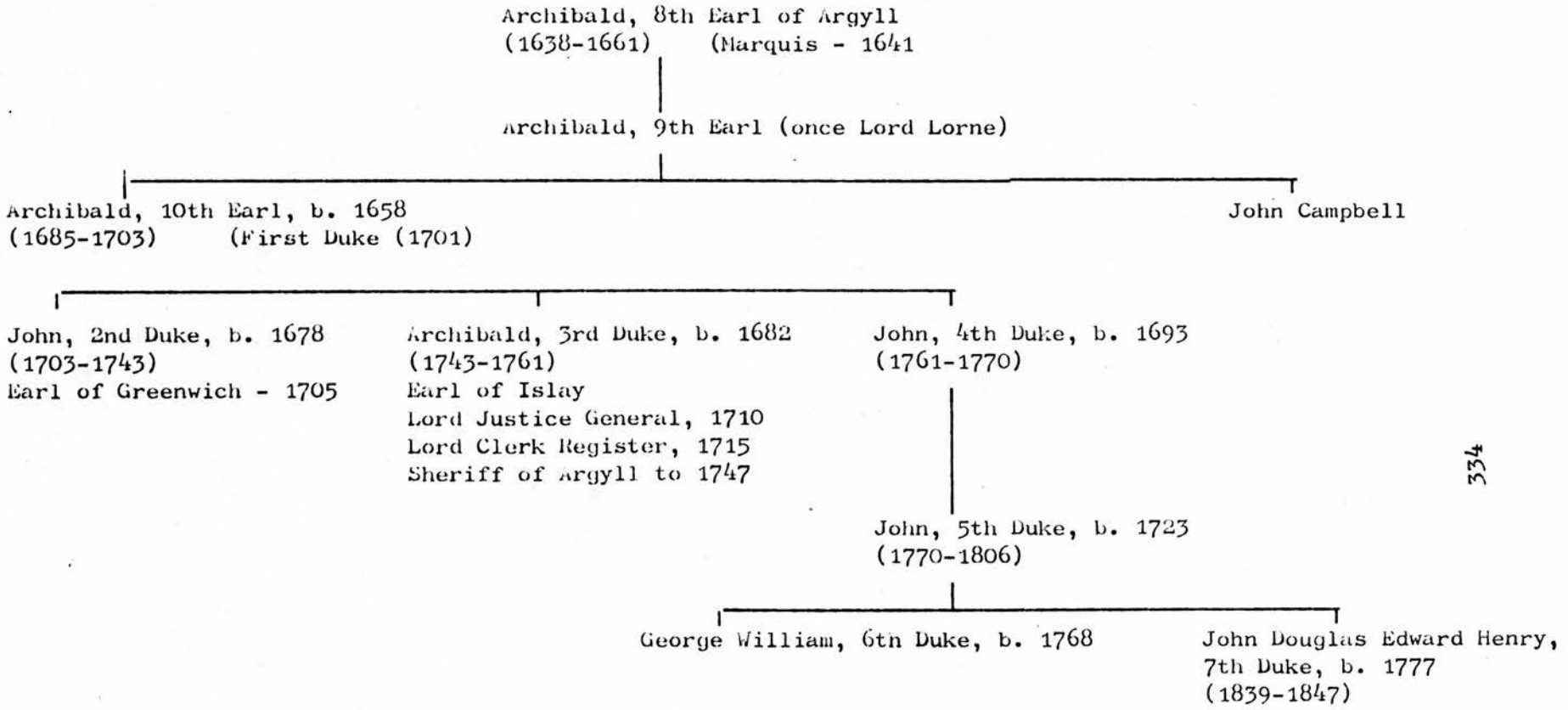
1792 Captain Duncan Stewart of Glenbuckie.
He inherited this estate in Perthshie. He was chamberlain to the Duke of Argyll in Kintyre. He was provost nine times including 1795 when he managed the "Press Gang Riot." He was succeeded as chamberlain by his son, John Lorne Stewart of Coll and Knockrioch.

1794 Lt. Col. John Porter of Crossibeg.
He was a descendant of the John Porter of Crossibeg who wrote "Port er's Prophecies." He married Anne White. He had a military career and acquired the estate of Knockbay. He lived at Drumore near the town and died in 1838.

Source: primarily the Minutes of the Town Council of Campbeltown, volumes I - IV.

APPENDIX 7

House of Argyll,
1638-1847



APPENDIX 8

Unto His Grace the Duke of Argyle

The Memorial of the Lowland congregation of Campbeltown

May it please your Grace

We vote unanimusly on purpos to signe ane adress to your Grace Declaring we were not imposed on to adress your Grace to have Mr. Gillan for Mr. Bois asistant during his life and sucesor after his Death but heartily Desirious to have him but we were Dealt with by Ugadell and Bailie Campbell to Delay what was there Designe we cannot tell, but we are prest in our minds to lay our Case before your Grace as we can.

We always had and still have a dependance on your Grace's favour and countinance and the more for your Grace Friendly letter to Mr. Bois and Did not think of employing any to speak for us, we being so sensible of the care protection countinance and favour we still had from your Grace's family time out of mind.

We never designed any Thing to Displease your Grace but lives as peacable and are as Unitly studying what makes for peace and your Grace Interest here as any Congregation in the Bounds.

However we are represented we wish it would please your Grace to Examine or cause ane unprejudiced Man to examine into the whole of our Beheaviour and there will be no cause to complain of us Excepting some Difference hapned some time agone betwixtsome of the town council and we hope and earnestly begs your Grace will not Discuntinence this congregation who depends on your Grace as our only Guardion upon Earth.

It is not because your Grace presented a minister nor is it for a Bane of Contention we recommend Mr. Gillan to your Grace to be Mr. Bois sucessor but for the Glory of God and Good of Souls and the Incuragment we have in your Grace kindly letter to Mr. Bois and because we had nine years experience of him and his Qualifications as a Gosple minister is more than we can express and we are pursuidaded for your Grace Intrest there.

And we humbly beg your Grace May be pleased to Grant this one favour which would be your Grace's Interest our Great Comfort for it is like Death to part with Mr. Gillan. This poor Congregation hope for your Grace's favourable Answer and we with Great Sincerity wish to please your Grace.

Your Grace Most Humble and Most Obediant Humble Servants.

Campbeltown 22nd Sept. 1749

John Langwill Elder
John Hammertoun Elder
Archibald Fleming Elder
David Watson Elder
William Anderson Elder
David Ferguson Elder

Peter Langwill Elder
James Hunter Elder
James Fulton Elder
Samuel McIver Elder
John Orr Elder
Matthew Ryburn Elder
David Watson Elder
Archibald Campbell Elder
Daniel Clark Elder
Matthew Langwill Elder
James Ryburn Elder
Alexander Johnston Elder
David Fleming Elder
John Campbell Elder
Daniel Fleming Elder
Robert Alexander
James Wright
John Clark
John Brown
Edward Eccles
James Crosshouse
Robert McNair
Andrew Adam
James Corner
James Fleming
William Galbreath
John Paterson
Robert Johnson
Robert Templeton
Hendry Killpattrick
Alexander Garner
James Watson
Alexander Draybrugh
Andrew
James Clark
Edward Breakenridge
James Harvey
Archibald Stewart
James Breakenridge
Edward Orr
David Galbreath
James Miller
John Langwill
Robert Wallace
William Harvey
William Craig
Robert Smith
Archibald Paterson
Edward
James Threepland
Duncan Clyde
Archibald

John Fulton
John
Archibald Fulton
Matthew Watson
William Barr
James Hendry
William Greenlees
Robert Park
James Dunlop
Nathaniel McNair
John Tarbet
Robert Orr
Samuel Morison
John Armour
William Watson
John Park
John Watson
Matthew Watson
Archibald Colville
Samuel Whyte
John Adams
John Clark
Robert Breakenridge
John Hunter
David Galbreath
James Breakenridge
John Mason
John Muir
John Greenlees
James Andrew
John Fleming
James
John Andrew
John Galbreath
John Greenlees
Thomas Greenlees
Robert McLean
Robert McGhie
Robert Armour
Robert Andrew
David Armour
James Clark
Robert Fulton
John Andrew
James Ferguson
John McCrae
Robert Dunlop
Robert Watterson
James Love
John Conn
Patrick Smith
John Donaldson

William Ross
John Breakenridge
George Davidson
John Conn
John Ferguson
Robert
Robert Clark
John Muir
William Campbell
Dugald Campbell
Mickel
Archibald White
James Dunlop
John Harvie
Archibald Mitchell
Alexander Dunlop
John Stewart
Robert Tarbart
James Colville
John Greenlees
James Anderson
James Morison
David Muir
Archibald Galbreath
David Cowan
James Baird
James Alexander
James Howie
Robert Howie
Robert Dunlop
William Langwill
William Cordonan

John Brown
James Dobson
John Galbreath
John Langwill
William McNie
Nathaniel McNair
Daniel Fulerton
James Gray
Lachlan McNeill
James McNair
William Muir
Archibald McNair
Alexander Johnston
James Galbreath
Archibald Dunlop
James Harvie
David Galbreath
John Wilson
William Caldwell
James Watson
James Galbreath
Robert Gamble
Nathaniel Harvie
William Robinson
Archibald Park
Alexander Cottrill
James Armour
Samuel Galbreath
William Spiers
Alexander Templeton
Archibald Campbell
James William

Source: "The Memorial of the Lowland Congregation of Campbeltown," 22 September 1749, S.C. 17679.

APPENDIX 9

Subscribers to the Relief Congregation of Campbeltown (1767)

Source: Minute Book of the Managers of the Relief Church, Longrow Church, Campbeltown.

John Kirkland, merchant in Campbeltown
Alexander Johnston Junr., merchant there
John Watson, merchant there
David Ralston, merchant there
Archibald Harvie, merchant there
James Pollock, writer there
Mathew Watson, maltster there
Nathaniel McNair Senr., merchant there
David Ryburn Senr., maltster there
Edward Orr, merchant and late Baillie there
William Galbreath, maltster there
William Ferguson, smith there
James Armour, maltster there
John Fulton, fewar there
John Greenlees, maltster there
John Clark, merchant there
Archibald Baird, cooper there
James Smith, wheelwright there
John Langwill, wheelwright there
Alexander Colville, wright there
Samuel Muir, maltster there
James Baird, schoolmaster there
William Fleming Junr., wright there
James Fleming, tenant in Belloch
Alexander Anderson, cooper in Campbeltown
Archibald Dunlop, cartier in Campbeltown
William Greenlees, weaver there
Archibald Greenlees, weaver there
John Brown, cartier there
John Love, weaver there
Alexander Watson, wheelwright there
James Fullarton
John Wilson, weaver there
Thomas Wilson
John Galbreath, maltster there
Archibald Paterson, cartier there
Robert Armour, shoemaker there
James Harvie Senr., shipmaster there
John Harvie, cartier there
Samuel Galbreath, maltster there
John Ryburn, shoemaker there
Hugh Ferguson, maltster there
James Lamb, weaver there
Francis Wright, weaver in Dallintober
James Ryburn, shipmaster in Campbeltown
Jerimiah Smith, cloathier at Smerbie Tuckmiln

William Pennell, sailmaker in Campbeltown
Robert Brown, shipmaster there
John Berry, baker there
John Ralston, merchant taylor there
William Stewart, ship carpenter there
Samuel Muir, cooper there
Thomas Maxwell, merchant there
Edward Armour, shoemaker there
James Galbreath, shipmaster in Campbeltown
James Fullarton, weaver there
Alexander Giffen, maltster there
Duncan Hendry, shipmaster there
James Clark, wright there
Thomas Harvie, weaver in Dallintober
Mathew Watson Junr., shipmaster in Campbeltown
Robert Langwill, tenant in Crosshill
Hugh Breckenridge, tenant in Drumore
Walter Muir, tenant
James Morison, tenant
William Barr, sailor in Campbeltown
Robert Watson, boatman there
Robert Smith, cooper there
John Finlay, sailor there
David Armour & Arthur Muir in Laggs
Robert Fearlie, sailor in Campbeltown
John Baird, shipmaster there
John Campbell, cooper there
William Cordner
Archibald Watson, shipmaster in Campbeltown
Hugh Tarbert, shipmaster there
Samuel Whyte, tenant in Peninvar
William Ralston, tenant in Achnaglach
John Paterson, tenant in Tangiemiln
Daniel McMurchy, cooper in Campbeltown
Andrew Ralston, tenant in Achnaglach
Nathaniel McNair Junr., shipmaster in Campbeltown
Daniel McDougall, cooper there
William McMurchy, tenant in Moy
John Huie, sailor in Campbeltown
Robert Morison, cooper there
William Ryburn, tenant in Drumlemon
John Wilson, tenant there
William Ross, gardner in Campbeltown
Andrew Love, weaver there
William Wilson, there
George Conn, there
John Conn Junr., cooper there
William Dunlop in Killounan

John Porter, tenant in Crossibeg
Robert Dunlop, town officer in Campbeltown
Hugh Porter in Crossibeg
John Harvie, shoemaker in Campbeltown
James Sheddan, sailor there
Daniel Corbet, smith there
Duncan & John Faulls, coopers there
James Reid, malster there
William Fleming
James Greenlees, merchant in Campbeltown
John Greenlees, shipmaster there
Archibald Stewart
Thomas Johnston, shoemaker in Campbeltown
James Galbreath, tenant in Ardnacrosh
Isobell Langwill
William Love in Drumore
Alexr. Johnston Senr., merchant & late Baillie in Campbeltown
James Threepland, weaver there
James Greenlees Senr.
James Fullarton
William and Robert Sheddans in Campbeltown
John Orr for James Langwill in Strath
David Dunlop, sailor in Campbeltown
Thomas Sheddan, sailor there
Robert Thomson in Ballywilling
Robert Fulton, late copparsmith in Campbeltown
Edward Orr for Archibald Galbreath, sailor there
Hugh Ferguson for James Ferguson
Robert Fulton, tenant in Kilmichael
Mathew Andrew, maltster in Campbeltown
Archibald Ferry, cooper there
Archibald Fleming, merchant and late Baillie there
Charles Rowatt, surgeon there
John McNair, merchant there
Robert Harvie, merchant there
James McNair, maltster there
David Ryburn Junr., merchant there
David Watson, merchant and late Baillie there
Jean Donald, spouse to Baillie Watson
Lionel Mitchell, wheelwright there
Do. for Mrs. Millar there
Andrew Harvie Senr., merchant there
Andrew Harvie Junr., copparsmith there
David Mitchell, merchant there
William Campbell, merchant there
Archibald Fulton, merchant there
William Templeton, merchant there
Peter Langwill, merchant taylor there
William Clark, merchant there
Robert Orr, merchant there
Alexander Pickan, wright there
William Watson Junr., in Barraskie

Thomas Templeton, tenant in Crossibeg
William Mitchell, tenant in Ballymenoch
Robert Maxwell, tenant in Bellochgare
Arthur Campbell, tenant in Kildonall
Robert Campbell, tenant there
Archibald McNair, tenant there
William Galbreath, tenant in Laggan
Archibald Colvill, tenant in Peninvar
Archibald Mitchell Junr., tenant in Clochkeel
James Anderson, tenant there
John Orr in Knockrioch
Edward Orr, tenant there
John Fleming, tenant in Killounan
Mathew Ryburn, tenant there
William Dunlop there
Thos. Love, James & John Ross's weavers there
Thos Love for Robert McGhie at Knocknahall
Robert Elder, changekeeper at Knocknahall
Robert Stewart, schoolmaster there
Andrew Breckenridge, tenant in Cheskan
Robert McNair, tenant there
John Langwill, tenant in Kilkivan
John Langwill, tenant there
Archibald Galbreath, tenant in Ardnacrosh
Archibald Craig, weaver there
John Clark, tenant in Tonrioch
James Clark Senr. there
John Brown, tenant in Knockrioch
Walter Clark, tenant there
John Clark, tenant there
John Huie, tenant in Balligragan
James Harvie Senr. tenant in Park
James Harvie Junr. tenant there
George Conn son to Jas. Conn, late shipmaster in Campbeltown
John Paterson, cooper there
Mathew Fleming, shipmaster in Campbeltown
Daniel Watson, shipmaster there
Archibald Fullerton in Kilwhipnoch
William Ryburn, tenant in Olacknahavell
John Cordner, tenant in Kilwhipnoch
John Wylie in Ardnascavoch
Daniel Muir
James Hendry, shipmaster in Campbeltown
James Watson, cooper there
William Langwill, merchant there
Duncan Clyde, cooper there
William Greenlees, shipmaster there
William Robertson, shipmaster there
John Watson, shipmaster there
William Finlay, merchant & late Provost there

Mathew Clyde, shipmaster there
William Howie, tenant in Balligregan
Edward Stewart, tenant in Knockrioch
John Greenlees, tenant in Ballnatoan
Robert Greenlees, tenant there
John Morison, tenant in Achinhoan
John Muir in Ballnatoan
William Harvie, shipmaster in Campbeltown
Robert Smith, cooper there
William Ryburn, shipmaster there
James Ryburn, tenant in Killcunan
Alexander Langwill, shipmaster in Campbeltown
Thomas Dunlop, shipmaster there
Alexr. Johnston Junr. agent for Willian Paterson in Ballnaglect
James Millar in Campbeltown
Robert Watterson, taylor there
Daniel Muir, cooper there
John Ross, sailor there
Robert Stewart, sailor in Campbeltown
John Campbell Senr. merchant there
James Dunlop, merchant there
Samuel Muir Junr., cooper there
John Harvie, sailor there
Daniel Fleming, merchant there
Francis McColme, merchant there
Edward Orr for Archd. Brownlee, smith at Knockrioch
Robert Dunlop, tenant in Ballivain
John Morison, shipmaster in Campbeltown
John Alexander
John Templeton in Ballimenoch
Allan Anderson, tenant in Clochkeel
James Hendry, merchant in Campbeltown
Alexr. Picken, cartier there
William Watson, tenant in Langgie
Alexr. Watson, tenant there
Robert Taylor, tenant in Smerbie
John Porter, tenant in Calliburn
John McNair for Wm. Ferguson, son to David Ferguson in Craigs
Robert Culbertson, tenant in Calliburn
John McNair for Wm. Ferguson in Craigs
James Whyte, mason in Campbeltown
Mathew Murchy, smith in Calliburn
William Greenlees
Alexander Reid, cooper in Campbeltown
John Langwill, wheelwright there
Nathaniel Harvie, schoolmaster there
Archibald Fullarton
Allan Anderson
John Alexander
John Galbreath
John Colvill, maltster in Campbeltown
James Thomson.

APPENDIX 10

Campbeltown Merchant Community in the Eighteenth Century

Allexander or Alexander: Edward, maltman, burgess, and guild brother, 18 April 1701; Edward, cooper, burgess and guild brother, 14 June 1715; John, maltman, burgess and guild brother, 22 March 1708, town councillor, signed Maltster Declaration, 1743; Robert, cooper, burgess and guild brother, 29 September 1731.

Armour: a name associated with the distilling industry in the town in the latter part of the eighteenth century; Edward, shoemaker, burgess and guild brother, 5 August 1735; James, maltman, signed petition of the Relief congregation, 1767; James Armour and sons signed the Prohibition on Malting, 1783; James Sr. appeared to have two sons, James and John who were involved in malting, barrel-making, and the herring buss fishing. The ledgers of James and John Armour, 1781-1806, show the extent of their business of manufacturing stills.

Ballantine: a family of influence in the town from John, hammerman, burgess and guild brother, 7 October 1707 to Duncan, merchant and town councillor in the 1780's. Duncan had a fifth share in the Hawk, a sixth in the Lady Frederick, and a sixth in the Glasgow. (Argyll Testaments, 26 May 1790). He had two sons, Daniel and James. Daniel carried on the involvement in the buss fishing with shares in numerous boats: a sixth in the Glasgow, a sixth in the Eagle, a tenth in the Holburn, a sixth in the Active, a twentieth in the Swan, five of twenty-four shares in the Hope, a sixth in the Minerva, and an eighth in the Lady Frederick. (Argyll Testaments, 16 July 1792). He also had a share in the Dalaruan brewery company with Robert Orr and John Campbell.

Barclay: James, younger, cooper, merchant and guild brother, February 1710, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743.

Brolochan: a variation of Obrolochan. Duncan, merchant; Neil Jr. and Sr., coopers. All three were on the List of Fencible Men for the Parish of Campbeltown, 1798.

Brown: Thomas, maltman, 5 March 1717, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743; Robert, signed Prohibition on Malting, 1783. Both were members of the Relief congregation, 1767. Another Robert was a shipmaster.

Campbell: a selected few names from among the many Campbell merchants in the town. One Campbell family was descended from John of Laggan-Lochan, chamberlain of Islay. One son, Lachlan, was designated "surgeon" in the town. Another was later surveyor of customs in Campbeltown. Lachlan had a tack to Whitehill with William Finlay, 1759, and he was a town councillor.

(Argyll Testaments, 23 November 1790). Another son, Ronald, was collector of customs for awhile in the 1770's. He traded extensively, particularly to North America. (Argyll Testaments, 30 May 1789).

Colin, merchant, traded to Spain from the 1740's. He became involved in the buss fishing and later got a tack to Crosshill, 1777.

David, merchant sometime of Jamaica, dealt in malt and bear particularly as cargoes after his return to Campbeltown in the 1750's. He got tacks to Glenamurrel and Inneanmore, 1758, and Smerby Mill, 1770.

Col. Charles Campbell of Barbreck was a wealthy land-holding merchant. He was a long-standing member of the town council and subscribed twenty-five pounds to the Hastie Case, 1770. He had tacks to Kilmaluig, 1775, Lecknalarach, 1775, Knocknaha, 1776, and Tangy Mill, 1786.

Patrick Campbell, merchant, traded extensively to North America during the period of drawback trade, 1766-1771, often in partnership with Charles McNeill or Robert Orr.

William, merchant, member of the Relief congregation and town councillor. He traded frequently with North America in the 1750's. He had a tack to Balligreggan, 1749.

Clark: a common name in the early royal burgh. Members of the Relief congregation, 1767. McKerral suggests that they were probably a Highland family, perhaps MacDonalds, who took a Lowland surname. (McKerral to Father James A. Webb, 29 December 1953). Donald, town councillor and baillie, 14 June 1700; James, merchant, burgess and guild brother, 31 January 1701, signed Maltster Declaraction, 1743; John merchant, burgess and guild brother, 11 April 1701, signed Maltster Declaration, 1743; William, maltman, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743.

Colville: a name which became particularly common in the nineteenth century and often associated with the distilling industry. John, maltman, member of the Relief congregation; Robert and Charles, maltmen, tenants in Drumore, 1800; Robert also had a tack to Trodigal and later Glenrea, 1799. He had a share in the Peggies, 1830, and James in Upper Ranachan, 1830. Four provosts from 1842 to 1919 were Colvilles.

Dunlop: Patrick, shoemaker, burgess and guild brother, 30 April 1701; James, merchant, burgess and guild brother, 28 June 1756. Member of the Relief congregation, 1767. Participated in the herring trade to Ireland in the 1750's.

Elder: Robert, member of the town council; James, distiller, signed the Memorial to the Excise, 1797.

Farquharson: a family who originated in Aberdeenshire. Francis, son of Farquharson of Finzean, came to Campbeltown as comptroller of customs and was a town councillor by November 1732. He was a member of the Lowland congregation, "Old Farquharson," being one of the chief opposers of the call given by the Duke of Argyll to the Rev. John McAlpine. (S.C. 165, ff. 106-7). He bought Clachaig estate near Tarbert. Francis Jr. became the most prosperous merchant in the town in the 1750's. He married Agnes Fleming. His wide trading interests included frequent exchanges to North America in the 1750's. He was the first Campbeltown merchant to properly outfit a buss for the bounty. He was Justiciary Baillie for the herring fishing in the Western Isles and David Loch referred to him as "a sensible, polite, well-bred man, a man who has the interests of his country at heart." (Loch, Essays, II, 158). He left his large estate to his sons. Archibald, the elder, carried on the main trading interests and lived for some time in Jamaica. James became provost of Campbeltown, 1774.

Ferguson: a family with malting interests. Members of the Relief congregation, 1767. Hugh and Edward signed the Prohibition on Malting, 1783; William, member of the Relief congregation, 1767, participated in the herring fishing. David was a licensed distiller of whisky who was charged with smuggling. (Customs Letters, 31 July 1797).

Finlay: John, maltman, burgess and guild brother, 28 October 1701; He or a descendant signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743; James maltman, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743. He also had interests in the herring fishing. The family were members of the Lowland congregation and later the Relief church, 1767.

Fleming: a large Campbeltown family. Archibald, joiner, burgess and guild brother, 14 June 1700, town baillie: Archibald Sr., merchant, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743. He married Ann White. He had a fifth share in the Nelly and Ann buss of seventy-one tons. (Argyll Testaments, 9 March 1786 and 9 October 1788). His son, Archibald Jr., maltman, was Dean of Guild in the town for many years. The family belonged to the Lowland congregation and Archibald Jr. was one of the main opposers to the call given to the Rev. John McAlpine. (S.C. 165, ff. 106-7). They were later members of the Relief congregation, 1767. Archibald had property in the town and he was involved to a large extent in the herring buss fishing in the 1760's and 1770's. His shares were reduced to a quarter in one boat, the Lady Charlotte, by the time of his death at the end of the century. His eldest son, also Archibald, became a wealthy merchant in Greenock. A daughter, Agnes, married Francis Farquharson and united two influential

mercantile families of Campbeltown. Their son was James Farquharson, provost, 1774. Another Fleming, Daniel, probably a brother to Archibald Jr., was a well-known merchant in the town, trading to North America and the West Indies and participating in the buss fishing. A John Fleming also had trading interests and two town properties in the 1750's. Flemings were tenants in numerous farms in the vicinity of the town.

Forrester: James, Laird of Knockrioch, was town councillor, 14 June 1700. He had property in the town. John, maltman, burgess and guild brother, 2 March 1708, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743.

Fulton: William, merchant, burgess and guild brother, 11 April 1701; Archibald, merchant, member of the Relief congregation, 1767; Robert, maltman, signed the Prohibition on Malting, 1783; John, member of the Relief congregation, 1767.

Galbreath or Galbraith: John and David, maltmen , signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743. They were members of the Lowland congregation and later the Relief congregation, 1767. Samuel, maltman, traded extensively in malt and bear to Belfast; John, David, and Samuel were all town councillors. William, maltman and member of the Relief congregation, 1767, signed the Prohibition on Malting, 1783; Archibald, distiller, signed the Memorial to the Excise, 1797. James, a shipmaster, was a member of the Relief congregation, 1767.

Greenlees: John and James, members of the Relief congregation, 1767; James, a merchant, was active in buss fishing; John was a maltman. The family probably came from Lochwinnoch in the seventeenth century according to McKerral.

Harvie or Harvey: a popular Campbeltown name. Andrew Sr., cooper, member of the Relief congregation, 1767, and town councillor; Andrew Jr., maltman, signed the Prohibition on Malting, 1783. He was active in the buss fishing in the 1760's and 1770's although his shares were reduced to a fifth in the brig, King George by the time of his death. His estate was left to his son, James, a cooper. (Argyll Testaments, 31 March 1791). Archibald, merchant and member of the Relief congregation, 1767, was active in the herring buss fishing in the 1760's; He got a tack to Skeroblingarry, 1775; Nathaniel Harvey, maltman, town councillor, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743. He was active in trading to Portugal particularly. His son, Nathaniel, a distiller, signed the Memorial to the Excise, 1797. Both were members of the town council; Robert, wealthy merchant, member of the Relief congregation, 1767, left money to the church at his death. (Argyll Testaments, 19 March 1781). James Sr., shipmaster, was a member of the Relief congregation, 1767.

Johnston: Alexander, town baillie, one of the main opponents to the call given to the Rev. John McAlpine. (S.C. 165, ff. 106-7). He had three properties in the town. At the time of his death he had £76-8s-6d in the Thistle Bank in

Glasgow and shares in various busses: a fifth in the Carlow, a quarter in the Johnstone, nine-tenths in the Bells, a fifth in the Diamond, a fifth in the King George, a twentieth in the Betty and Peggy, a seventh of a quarter in the Jeannies. These shares totalled £186-8s-6d. (Argyll Testaments, 24 November 1783); Alexander, his son, was also a merchant and town councillor and one of the main opponents to the call given to the Rev. John McAlpine. He was a subscriber to the Relief congregation, 1767.

Kirkland: John, merchant, member of the Relief congregation, 1767, town councillor, active in the buss fishing, 1760's.

Langwell: Daniel, merchant, burgess and guild brother, 28 October 1701; James, cooper, burgess and guild brother, 29 March 1734; John, maltman, burgess and guild brother, 10 April 1736; Peter and Robert, maltmen, both signed the Prohibition on Malting, 1783. The family were members of the Lowland congregation and later the Relief congregation, 1767.

Love: James, weaver, burgess, 28 October 1701; John, merchant and guild brother, 28 October 1701; Angus, merchant, burgess and guild brother, 22 January 1719.

McAllister: Angus, sailor, admitted a burgess for four merks "being poor," 5 February 1708; Alexander, merchant, member of the town council, active in herring trade to Ireland in the 1750's, imported considerable amounts of salt from Spain and Portugal.

McCallum. Gilbert, weaver, burgess, 28 October 1701; Gilbert, tailor, burgess and guild brother, 15 September 1733; Hugh, merchant, had a tack to Keprigan, 1786.

McDougall: Dugald, merchant, burgess and guild brother, 2 August 1701; Duncan, tailor, burgess, 2 August 1701; Duncan, maltman, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743.

McEachran: Archibald, maltman, burgess and guild brother, 2 August 1701; John, merchant, burgess and guild brother, 11 April 1701; John, merchant, 21 September 1732. He got a tack to Knocknagreine, 1761, and to Glenaharvie, 1771. Also a member of the town council; Malcolm, cooper, burgess and guild brother, 26 March, 1731.

McIlcheir: Farquhar, boatman, 23 June 1732; a McIlcheir signed the Maltster Declaraction, 1743; Daniel, cooper, was on the List of Fencible Men in the town, 1798.

McKinlay: John, maltman, burgess and town councillor, 14 June 1700; William, merchant, very involved in various types of trade in the town. In 1745, he was an agent for a Belfast company trading to Jamaica. In the 1740's, he traded extensively to Norway. He had three properties in the town and was a long-standing member of the town council, even designated "Provost"

by David Loch although there is no record of his having held that office. He was Justiciary Baillie for the herring fishing in the Western Isles and Loch called him a "sensible intelligent man, he displayed a perfect knowledge in the trade of his part of the country; and his observations on the bounty were fraught with a great deal of good sense and sound reasoning." (Loch, Essays, II, 157). He alone among Campbeltown merchants and buss owners favoured a moderate premium given to cod and ling fishing as well as herring. He also continued his extensive trading interests to North America and the West Indies during the time of the buss bounties. At his death he had shares in numerous busses: a fifth in the Prince of Wales, a quarter in the Bell, a third in the Betty, a quarter in the Holburn, a quarter in the Farquharson, a third of a quarter in the Betty and Peggy, a sixth in the Lord Frederick, a quarter in the William and Archibald, and a quarter in the Isabella. He was a member of the Highland congregation.

McLarty: James, merchant, traded in herring with the West Indies. He got a tack to Machrimore, 1777; John rose from tidewaiter at Machrihanish in 1749 to comptroller of customs, 1768. Both were town councillors; Colin, a doctor, was an early nineteenth-century provost. The family eventually bought Keil estate at Southend.

McMath: Donald, merchant, burgess and guild brother, 2 August 1701; Duncan, merchant, burgess and guild brother, 11 April 1701, he had property in the town; Patrick, maltman, burgess and guild brother, 28 October 1701. The lack of mention after mid-century of this large family which was very active in council affairs at the beginning of the century is surprising. It is possible that the family changed allegiance to the Lowland congregation and at the same time changed their name.

McMillan: Archibald, member of the town council. He participated in the buss fishing; Alexander of Drumore was active in the affairs of the Lowland congregation and he became a member of the Relief congregation, 1767. He was also a town councillor and he had three properties in the town; John, merchant, was active in the buss fishing in the 1760's and 1770's.

McNair: James, maltman, member of the Relief congregation, 1767, traded in malt and bear to Ireland; John, merchant, member of the Relief congregation, active in buss fishing; Nathaniel, Sr. and Jr.. Both were merchants, members of the Relief congregation, 1767, and town councillors. Nathaniel Sr. owned a town property in 1754. (S.C. 412, f. 1). He also had a tack to Eleric, 1755, with Edward Orr. Nathaniel Jr., a shipmaster, obtained a tack to Kildonald, 1796.

McNeil or McNeal: Andrew, maltman, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743; Charles, merchant, town councillor, participated actively in the buss fishing and in the drawback trade, 1766-1771, a member of the Highland congregation; Colin, merchant,

member of the Relief congregation, 1767, had extensive interests in the buss fishing; Archibald, surgeon in Belfast, born in Campbeltown, got a tack to Darlochan farm, 1749.

McVicar: Patrick, maltman, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743. He was a town councillor, 14 June 1700.

Marquis: Neal, merchant, town councillor, had active trading interests in the 1750's and 1760's.

Maxwell: George, a descendant of the Maxwells of Southbar, was the first collector of customs of Campbeltown, 24 March 1708; Thomas, merchant, member of the Lowland congregation and later the Relief church, 1767; James, maltman, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743; Hugh and Robert, merchants, were active in the buss fishing and the trade to the West Indies in the 1760's; John, cooper, had shares in busses: a twelfth in the Betty, a tenth in the Hawk. (Argyll Testaments, 30 March 1789).

Mitchell: James, maltman, burgess and water baillie, 18 April 1701. He signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743. His son, William, was a merchant. The family were members of the Lowland congregation; Thomas, merchant, burgess, 17 November 1707; John, maltman, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743.

Montgomery: Two merchants by the name of John were prominent in the early town affairs. One of them was known as "uncle," 14 June 1700, and the other was Dean of Guild, 2 August 1701. See also Hugh Montgomery, provost in 1725.

Muir: Samuel, maltman, member of the Relief congregation, 1767, traded extensively inmalt and barley to Ireland in the 1760's. He was a town councillor.

Nisbet: John, "indweller," burgess and guild brother, 27 October 1731, town councillor. As a merchant he was particularly involved in importing iron from Gothenburg.

Obrolochan: a name which had many variations, mentioned frequently in the early town records: Archibald, Duncan, Dugald. The name disappeared from use later in the century, presumably changed to a Lowland name.

Orr: a name which was common both in the merchant community of the town and among the tenantry in the farms in the vicinity of Campbeltown. Edward, maltman and burgess, 14 April, 1701. He was town baillie for many years. He married Margaret Simpson and his son, also Edward, born 1 July 1700, was perhaps the best known of the family in the town. He was a maltman/merchant, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743. He was a long-standing member of the town council and town baillie. He traded regularly to Ireland particularly.

He had three properties in the town. An "Edward Orr" had tacks to Eleric, 1755, and Knockrioch, 1761. The family belonged to the Lowland congregation and later to the Relief Church, 1767. Edward Orr sold the land to the seceding group of the Lowland congregation who built the new church on Longrow. He married Elizabeth Wyllie and his son, Robert, became one of the most prosperous of the town merchants in the 1760's and 1770's. At Edward's death a considerable estate and the shares in several busses were left to Robert. (Argyll Testaments, 8 June 1773). Robert, merchant, had surprisingly little to do with the town council or the membership of the Lowland congregation, although he was vaguely associated with both and was a subscriber to the Relief congregation, 1767. Rather he seemed to devote most of his energies to lucrative mercantile pursuits. He was one of the first to become involved in North American trade and he was the most active town merchant in the drawback trade with the West Indies, apparently taking the initiative and the risk involved, 1766-1771. He was a partner of the Dalaruan Brewery Company, 1770. He allowed the town to draw upon his account in the Thistle Bank of Glasgow up to the sum of one hundred pounds in 1781. By the time of his death he had only one remaining share, a quarter, in a buss, the Lady Charlotte. His wife, Isabella Huie, and his family divided the large estate. (Arbyll Testaments, 6 July 1783).

Park: William, shoemaker, burgess, 18 June 1701; William and Robert, merchants, 1750's; John cooper, and James, maltman, were on the List of Fencible Men, 1798. James signed the Prohibition on Malting, 1783.

Paterson: John, member of the town council, 14 June 1700, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743.

Pinkerton: Rev. James, first minister of the Lowland congregation, seventeenth century; Andrew, barber, burgess and guild brother, 28 May 1731.

Ralston: a large family with malting and mercantile interests. David, John, and William were members of the Relief congregation, 1767. William signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743. John was a merchant. They were all town councillors. The Ralstons had the tenancies to Brecklate and Knockstaplebeg in the eighteenth century.

Robison: John, merchant and guild brother, 28 October 1701; Edward, sailor, burgess and guild brother, 14 June 1715. An Edward Robison signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743, and traded enthusiastically in meal exports and iron imports with the Baltic in the 1740's and the 1750's; James, maltman, member of the town council carried on the same trade in the next decade. Meal continued to form the basis of his trade even after the interests of others changed to herring. He also signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743.

Rowatt: Alexander, merchant, town baillie, 14 June 1700, married Jean Symer and had two sons, Charles and James. Charles married the daughter of Donald Campbell, Laird of Kilkivan, and their son was Dr. Charles Rowatt, physician in the town. (Argyll Testaments, 15 April 1694). Charles, a founder member of the Relief church in Campbeltown, had three properties in the town and was active in council affairs.

Ryburn: a family from Ayrshire with malting interests. David Sr., maltman, town councillor, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743. He was a member of the Relief congregation, 1767. He became involved in the buss fishing. His son, David Jr., merchant, carried on his interests in grain and buss fishing. At his death he was owed £635-17s-6d. He had shares of a quarter of the Mary and Janet, an eighth in the Jeanny, a sixth in the Dolphin, and a fifth in the Happy Return. Along with the value of goods in his shop his total assets were £1644. (Argyll Testaments, 26 November 1771 and 16 October 1772.) Matthew, his son, was a merchant, and a member of town council; James, shipmaster, was a member of the Relief congregation, 1767.

Stewart: Andrew, merchant, 1740's, town councillor; Daniel, maltman, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743; Robert, merchant, burgess and guild brother, 13 August 1733, son of Dugald, minister at Rothsay. He was a noticeable exception among the wealthiest of the town merchants in not being part of the Lowland kirk, but a member of the Highland congregation. He was a town councillor and had shares in several busses at the time of his death: a fifth in the Prince of Wales, a third of four-fifths in the Betty, a quarter in the Holburn, a quarter in the Farquharson, a third of four-fifths in the Betty and Peggy, a quarter in the Isabella, and a sixth in the Lord Frederick. At his death he left his large estate to his wife, Janet Mitchell, and a sizeable donation to the united kirk session. (Argyll Testaments, 18 November 1768).

Watson: James, cooper, burgess and guild brother, 29 March 1734; John, merchant, member of the Relief congregation, 1767; William, maltman, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743, and took part in the buss fishing; David Sr., a town baillie, member of the Lowland congregation, and main opponent to the call given to the Rev. John McAlpine. (S.C. 106, ff. 106-7), He dealt primarily in meal and malt to Ireland and the Baltic, even after other merchants changed their interests to buss fishing. David Jr., maltman, also signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743, and had similar interests. He owned a distillery in the town in the 1750's and used coal from the local colliery. Matthew, a maltman, was also a town councillor and a member of the Relief congregation, 1767.

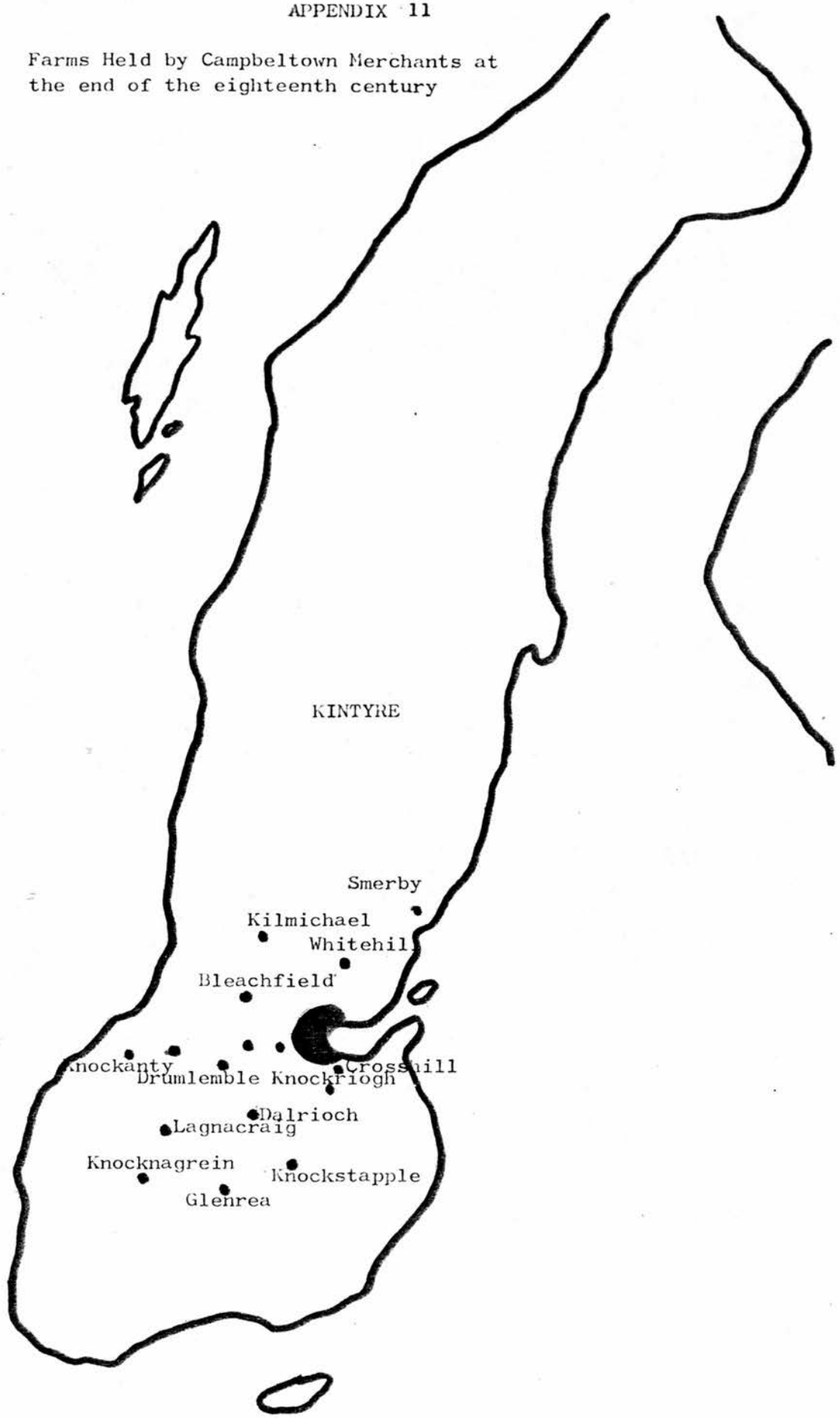
Matthew Jr., shipmaster, was a member of the Relief congregation, 1767. Archibald was also a shipmaster.

Wyllie: a common name in Campbeltown. Andrew, maltman, burgess and guild brother, 31 January 1701; John, maltman, town councillor, 14 June 1700; Joseph, cooper, 17 June 1715; Nathaniel, burgess, 2 March 1708; Robert, merchant, burgess and guild borther, 2 August 1701; William, merchant, burgess and guild brother, 5 July 1708; Archibald, merchant, town councillor for many years, signed the Maltster Declaration, 1743.

Sources: Minutes of the Town Council of Campbeltown, volumes I - IV. Minute of the Relief congregation, 1767; Argyll Testaments; Baptismal Registers.

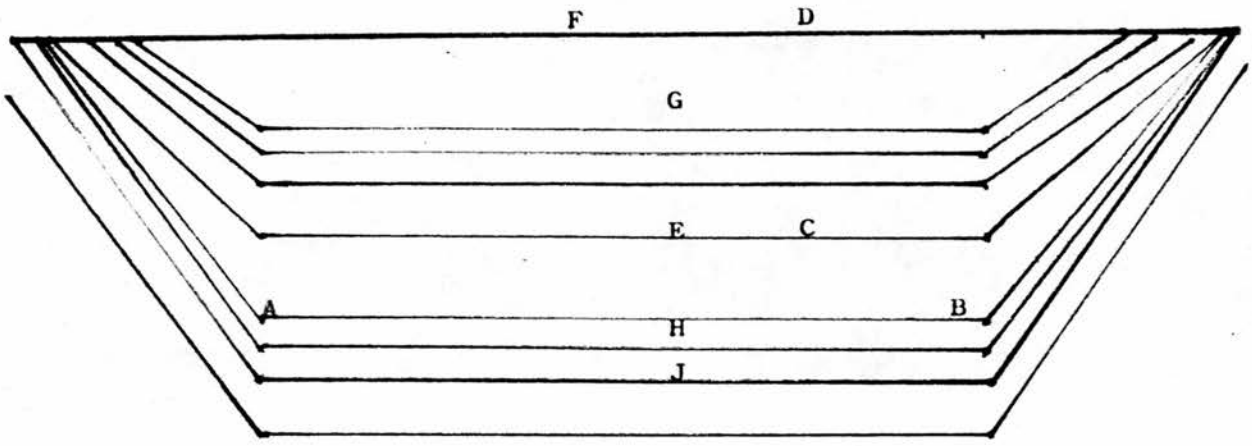
APPENDIX 11

Farms Held by Campbeltown Merchants at the end of the eighteenth century



APPENDIX 12

A North West View of the Coal at Campbeltown from the South West Crop to the North ast. As if it were Diged and laid open, from the Surface to the of the 5 foot coal which, was inspected narrowly by Robert Fraser



From A to B: the Breadth of the coal which is above two miles towards Craig Hills

And the Lenth of it is above three from the Sea East towards Campbeltown and streeks south east to Backs ground as will be seen in the ground draught in a paper apart

From C to D: is the depth from the coal to the surfact of the earth which is sixteen fathom and its the place where the shank for the water gine went

From E to FL Where the New Shank ought to set down for a water machine to go. And from E to G. Lock of a strong nature from G to F; Sand and Clay

From H to J: three fathoms of good rock betwixt the $6\frac{1}{2}$ foot and 5 foot coal which in all is twenty fathom from the surface to 5 foot coal

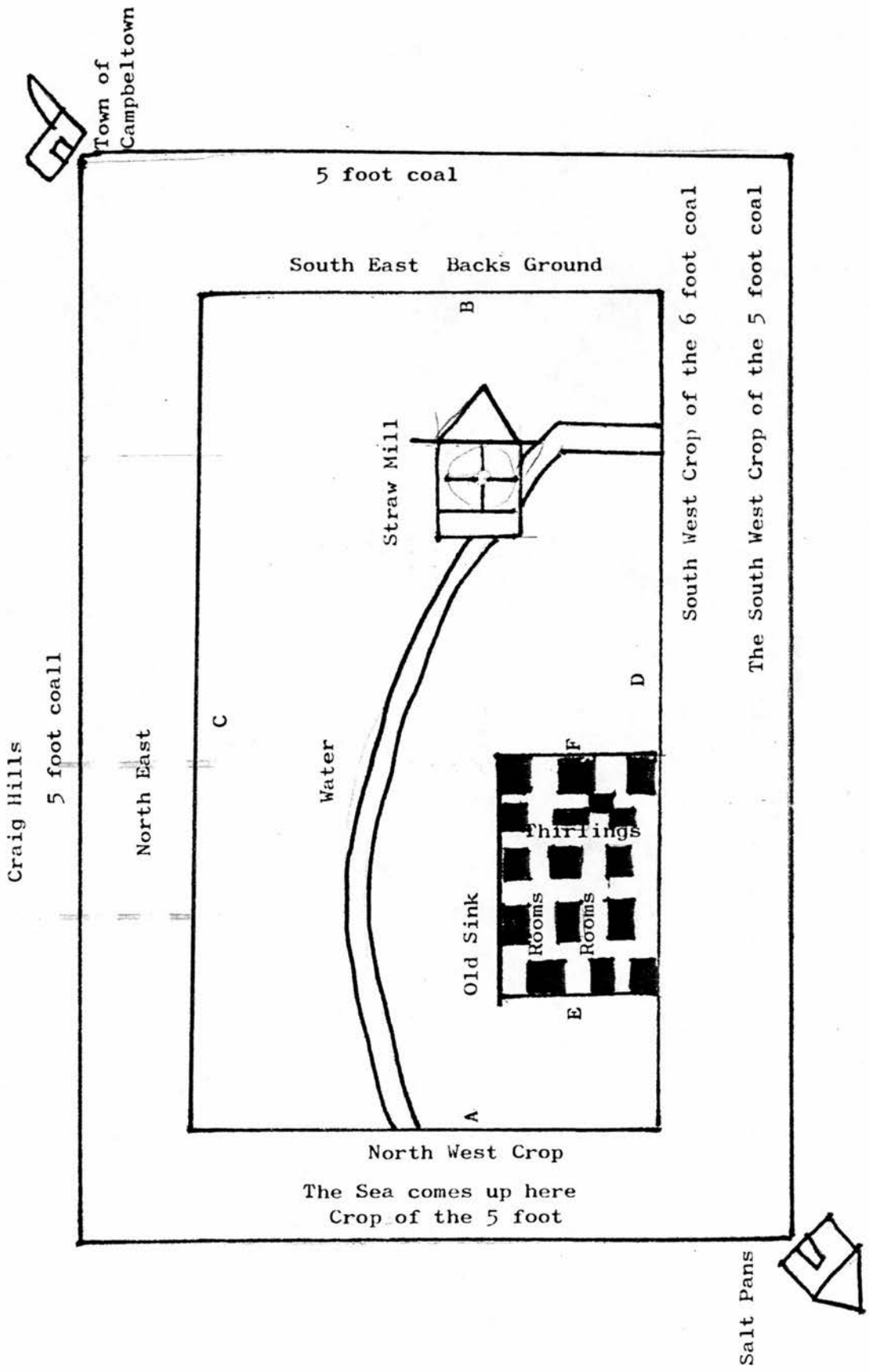
There is verry few coals to ebb of such thickness, the coal at Pinkie is but 4 foot and thirtie four fathoms down. Aloa Clackmenen are but 5 foot and 30 fathoms down. Tranent Great Seem 24 fathoms and 30 fathoms down to their splent which is their next coal and its but 4 foot thick.

N.B. This coal will be 8 foot and upwards in the body and by the cours of the mettels and the above coals there is yet another coall below, which should be betwixt three and 4 foot thick where of one foot parrot 2 rouch coal and one foot splent.

Source: "A Draught of the Coals at Campbeltown in Kintyre belonging to His Grace the Duke of Argyle," 1752, S.C. 17679, ff. 141-142.

APPENDIX 13

A Plan of the Coal near Campbeltown, 1752



From A to B: the Lenth which is above 3 Miles from the Sea to the Backs ground
From C to D: the Breadth which is above 2 Miles to Craig Hills
From E to F: All that is wasted of the Coal and will not
Exceed 660 feet which is one eight part of a mile The Black Spots is the Strips that holds up the Ground
the White the Rooms and Thirlings Wrought

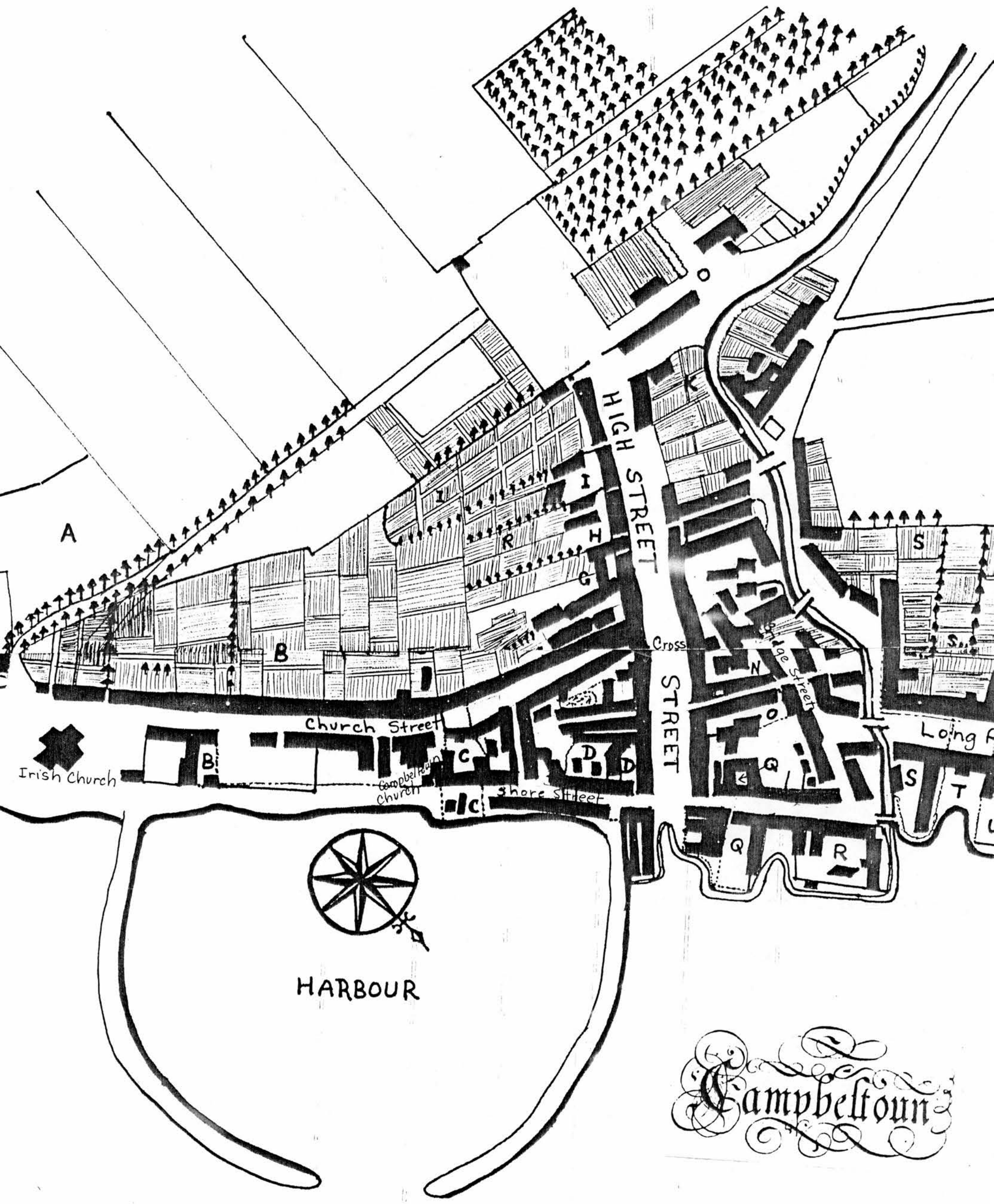
Source: "A Plan of the Coal near Campbeltown as it Lays in the ground with its lenth and breadth belonging to His Grace the Duke of Argyle, 1752, S.C. 17679, f. 140.

APPENDIX 14

Plan of Campbeltown (about 1754)

A	Skipness Tenament and Acres
BB	Mr. Buchanan
CCC	Mr. Wylie
DDD	Bailie McKinlay
EEE	Provost McColme
F	Mr. Buchanan
G	Archibald Fleming Junior
HH	Kilberry
II	Mr. Ruat
K	Mr. Forrester
L	Archibald Paterson
MM	Mr. McNeill of Kilchrist
N	Mr. Ruat
OO	Alexander McMillan
P	Malcolm McMath
QQ	John Fleming
R	Edward Orr
SSS	Mr. McNeill of Kilchrist and William Finlay
TT	Alexander Johnston's heirs
U	Bailie Edward Orr
V	Alexander Johnston's heirs

Source: Plan of Campbeltown among the Kintyre papers in the A.E.O. Copy in the private papers of D. Colville.


HIGH STREET
Cross
Bridge Street
STREET
Church Street
Irish Church
Campbeltoun Church
Shore Street
HARBOUR
Campbeltoun

HARBOUR

Church

Street

Short Street

HIGH STREET

Bridge Street

Long Row

STREET

Hampherfoun

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Petition from William Ralston and John Cunningham, Ms. 975.

Saltoun Collection Mss. Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, friend and agent of Archibald Campbell, Earl of Islay and 3rd Duke, was in general charge of all Argyll estates after 1743. Papers relating to Kintyre, Mss. 17679-17680; General correspondence, Mss. 16525-16733.

At the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.

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CC 2/3/11 - 13.

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E 504/139-145.

Customs Cash Vouchers, 1752-1796.
E 508/58/9 - E 504/64/9.

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RS 1/11.

Heretors' Records, 1778-1821.
HR 67/1.

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Volume IA: Baptisms, 1659-1774; Marriages, 1671-1681.
Volume IB: Baptisms, 1682-1770.
Volume II: Baptisms, 1771-1822; Marriages, 1771-1792. Deaths, 1773-1819.
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anker: a liquid measure of abour four gallons used by smugglers for convenience of carriage on horseback

aquavita: distilled liquor, not brewed; an early term for whisky

balk: beam or rafter; a length of wood

bear: (or bere), a type of barley with four rows of grain on the head; a hardier species of barley that grows on poorer soils and requires a shorter growing season: grown especially for distilling

boll: a Scots dry measure, not exceeding six bushels but varying from district to district. A boll of oats barley, or potatoes by the standard Linlithgow measure contained six imperial bushels. A Kintyre boll was larger containing about sixteen pecks

birlin: (or birling), a half-decked galle or rowing boat

buss: a decked vessel of over twenty tons, usually with two to three masts. The term was originally applied to Dutch vessels employed in the herring fishing

causey: a street or pavement laid with stones; or to "pave" a road by laying down small stones

cess: a tax or levy; originally a land tax

chalder: a measure usually applied to coal in Kintyre of approximately five tons

cocket: (or coquet), from the Latin quo quietus est which means in Latin "by which he is quit" or "by which it is cleared", the abbreviation to "quo q'et" or "cocket" means a permit for exporting or importing goods through customs

cumering: (or cummering), appears to refer in Kintyre to the festivity and celebration of a birth or baptism.

deal: a piece of timber, usually about nine inches wide

drawback: repayment of the customs duty collected on items landed in a Scottish port after their re-export to a foreign destination

ell:	(or eln), a linear measure of approximately thirty-seven inches
firlot	a dry measure containing approximately four pecks
handspaiks:	long, narrow pieces of wood
heckle:	to dress flax
hogshead:	a liquid measure of approximately fifty-two imperial gallons
ladles:	a payment made for each boll of grain brought into the town; one quarter part of a peck
lapping:	the process dealing with the threads of linen, prior to spinning. The heckled piece of flax is held between the fingers and thumb of the left hand, and some of the fibres of the root end are lapped round it
merk:	a Scottish silver coin worth thirteen shillings and four pence Scots or thirteen and one-third pence sterling
multure:	the fee for grinding grain paid to the tacksman of the mill
Osnaburg :	a coarse cloth manufactured in Osnaburg, Germany; an attempt was made to reproduce it in Angus
penny brid :	the festivities at a wedding whereby the guests contribute towards the entertainment
puncheon:	a liquid measure of from seventy to one hundred and twenty gallons; a cask
ree:	a local term referring to a storing place or fold for coal
stone:	a standard weight of fourteen pounds
sucken:	the jurisdiction attached to a mill which obliged the tenant to grind their grain there
tack:	a lease to land
uisge beatha:	the Gaelic or Irish form of whisky, meaning water of life; the pronunciation was corrupted into "whisky"
wash:	a term referring to the soaked barley or bear in the distillation of whisky